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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2212

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Party Handles Difficult Problems

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 18 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Bogumila Pieczonkowa: "The Party Organization at the Krakow ARMATURA Pipe Fittings Plant Blazes a Trail Across Most Difficult Problems"]

[Text] Party comrades at the Krakow ARMATURA Plant are not keeping it secret that the situation was and is difficult. For the party organization there does not exist on some separate island isolated from general national and party problems. It also has its own specific problems as well. But in spite of everything, it is ready to continue acting.

The Start Was Made From Positions Not Lost

What is more, these positions were strengthened.

During the reports-programs conference held this year our party organization outlined the directions of further action: as regards production and economic performance, and especially the economic reform; in behalf of initiating and fostering the self-government of the workforce; to promote the renascence of the trade-union movement; to assist the youth organization in its undertakings; in intra-party life; to inspire and promote anything that is conducive to national accord and rebirth, according to Czeslaw Rutkiewicz, secretary of the plant party committee at the Krakow ARMATURA Plant.

True, 3 years ago the party organization at ARMATURA had about 530 members, whereas now it has about 400. But most of the loss in membership was due to a deliberate political activity of the organization. It was the party organization itself that decided to expel three comrades and delete several dozens longtime "dead souls" from the membership rolls. The roster of party members at ARMATURA was further shortened by a score or so of comrades who transferred to other workplaces and hence also to other party organizations, which is a natural occurrence. It is to be emphasized here, however, that this does not mean that the party organization was not keenly and painfully affected by the decision of some members to give up their party cards, chiefly following August 1980 and following the declaration of the martial law. But it should be also strongly emphasized that this entire process has provided the foundations for strengthening and consolidating the party's ranks, tightening personal responsibility and elevating the authority of the party organization.

Andrzej Czelusiaik, secretary for propaganda under the PZPR plant committee, commented: "The party also counts for something at the Krakow ARMATURA, with nearly every 5th employee being a party member. There are moreover prospects for admitting new members to the party. However, our organization has learned to be cautious. We give priority to individuals of whom we can be certain that they won't fail us and, through their commitment, by raising their ideological level and developing their own personalities, will help the party in its activities. We give priority to individuals who will--in addition to their occupational or professional duties--implement party tasks honestly. And these tasks are far from light."

Thus, in my conversations with the comrades from ARMATURA we reached the next group of problems regarded as priorities by the party organization.

The plant's director Jerzy Kawczynski, a party member, said: "Without losing sight of ideological and political problems, our organization has also assumed--in these difficult times--additional duties relating to management and the manufacture of products that by their very nature are of special importance to society."

Thus, the party organization found itself

In the Thick of Problems

For a long time now the Krakow ARMATURA Plant has accounted for as much as 80 percent of the nation's output of water and gas pipe fittings, and it also produces certain quantities of aluminum heaters c.o. [?] About an half of its output goes to new construction and public utilities, 40 percent is allocated to the consumer goods market, and about 8 percent is exported. In effect, throughout the country, most new housing and many old dwellings contain "visiting cards" from the Krakow ARMATURA in the form of plumbing and gas fixtures. It has never yet happened that a new residential building stood empty and uninhabited owing to lack of these fixtures from the Krakow supplier.

As director Kawczynski explains and interprets it: "Compared with our best years, output in 1981 and 1982 at our plant dropped by 25 percent, and this decline is a resultant of the then specified possibilities for allocating to us materials such as, in particular, brass castings and rolled and drawn brass products. Their supply improved in the second half of last year and now it is satisfactory. But a new obstacle is arising on our path, namely, the plans to discontinue the production of aluminum heaters c.o. both at our plant and at the foundry plants in Radom, owing to the cable industry's demand for aluminum. This is to be offset by an increase in the production of heaters at plants using other materials. If this decision is carried out, this means that ARMATURA would have to concentrate on manufacturing highly labor- and time-intensive products, which places under a question mark the feasibility of the planned overall increase in its output as well as the expected financial results."

But it is the manpower shortage that is causing the greatest apprehensions. This shortage is particularly keen in occupations decisive to production such as: foundrymen, polishers, grinders, lathe operators, toolmakers. The shortage of employees needed at implement the planned targets reaches the high figure

of 200, of whom 150 at "bottleneck" workstations. This menaces the planned--jointly with the Worker Self-Government operating at the plant since last April and as agreed upon with the plant trade union--increase in the production of water and gas pipe fittings to meet the still huge demand for them.

The influx of new employees is insignificant. The plant-sponsored vocational school also will not cope with offsetting the manpower shortages, because it trains chiefly fitters, lathe operators and milling machine operators for the tool and repair shops. Even if its training curriculum were to be expanded, the regulations governing safety and hygiene of labor still forbid employing young people in grinding, casting and polishing occupations. The plant's physician will not let persons 17 or 18 to 21 years old work at workstations that might endanger their organism, which is still developing, and possibly deform their skeletal system.

But there exist chances for solving the manpower problem.

On the Path Toward a Correct Application of the Economic Reform

Already during the martial law era, when the other employee organizations had been suspended, a commission for the economic reform had been appointed on the initiative of the plant party organization, together with special teams working on such topics as the general structure of the enterprise, cost analysis, the incentive system, training, and information science. The commission, whose membership also included party members, carried out preliminary studies which subsequently were continued in cooperation with the Worker Self-Government and trade union. An organizational scheme and structural changes for the plant were adopted. Priority was given to integrating the social services and administrative departments as well as to the organization of supply and the handling of materials, which served to relieve 70 employees for transfer to other workstations.

Representatives of the Presidium of the Worker Self-Government, including its chairman foundry engineer Henryk Wrobel were invited to the recent deliberations of the PZPR Plenum. The party organization expressed its opinion on the introduction of the economic reform, and joint decisions were adopted. At that time, special emphasis was placed on the necessity of improving the incentive system, at least to the extent that it would not deviate from that employed at other enterprises. The implementation of these decisions should contribute to attracting new manpower to ARMATURA and halt the efflux of its employees.

But offsetting the manpower shortages is only one side of the coin. The other side is that, together with its allies in the bodies of the Worker Self-Government and the trade union, the party organization supports the management's actions to tighten the discipline and productivity of labor. After all, this too is decisive to maintaining and expanding production. And yet, despite the rise in productivity, discipline has loosened markedly, a reflected in the increased absenteeism. At the beginning of June a pay allowance for working a whole month without absenteeism was introduced. It has already produced tangible positive results. A pay allowance for work on days off also has been introduced.

The exploitation of the cadre potential is always highly important, particularly given the present manpower shortages. The party organization, to which cadre policy also is not unimportant, has been paying special attention to this matter also--here too with the complete support of the self-government and trade union bodies. Now that the foremen have been vetted, the vetting of the managerial personnel is under way.

The View is Toward Young Employees

It is they, above all, that represent a potential reserve cadre. This is favored by the fact that, of the plant's workforce of 2,000, more than 350 employees are below 35 years of age. The party organization views this as a way of staffing in the future responsible and principal managerial and workstation posts, as well as of replenishing its own ranks. Broad assistance for youth and its organization has been announced. Here mention should at least be made of the plans to support the process of education, including civic and political education. Mention should also be made of the support for alleviating living conditions, and especially the support for the steps already taken to prepare housing construction for the families of young employees. These joint measures also are viewed as affording a possibility for binding permanently to the plant the young part of the workforce.

Reaching the straight and smooth path at ARMATURA also depends on its capital investments. For already as far back as 15 years ago an official inspection recommended shutting down the foundry department owing to various dangers, including structural danger, ensuing from the operation of heavy machinery crowded together in a room with little free space. To be sure, temporary improvements, including structural ones, were carried out, but they all are provisional. As for the construction of the new foundry department, it has been under way already for 10 years.

Can This Tough Nut Be Cracked?

The new foundry department was conceived as a typical safety-and-hygiene-of-labor investment project to assure employees with safe, convenient and cultured working conditions. But this unlucky project is meeting with one difficulty after another. For while the until recently existing industry association had the funds to cover bank credit, since 1982 ARMATURA has been on its own. Additional problems are caused by the circumstance that the plant entered upon a new situation, ensuing from the new regulations, while in debt to the bank for 232 million zlotys used for capital spending on its department in Jordanow. Before it was disbanded, the industry association provided ARMATURA with a final 22 million zlotys. Last year ARMATURA itself allocated 90 million zlotys for capital spending, but for this year its plan is such that it cannot spend more than 60 million zlotys for this purpose. Fund transfers are under way to raise this sum to the 90 million zlotys required to continue the commenced investments, for completing the construction of the foundry department still requires an additional 400 million zlotys.

Together with the management and other employee organizations, the party organization and its plant committee are exploring the possibilities for breaking the impasse, for this concerns not only providing the conditions for an increase in output but also--which must be stressed yet again--for improving the working conditions of employees.

The difficult financial situation has also been caused by the until recently improper pricing of ARMATURA'S products. Despite the steady increase in production costs, the prices had remained constant since 1970. For every product sold the subsidy reached several dozen zlotys. The plant operated at a planned loss reaching 130 million zlotys a year. Following the regulation and increase in sales prices as well as other steps to streamline cost effectiveness, the plant has, already last year,

Attained a Profitability Level of 412 Million Zlotys

It is being said at the party organization that, following the first price madness--and here producer prices are considered--the situation is becoming stabilized and normalized. This has promoted a moderate increase by ARMATURA of the prices for its products sold to construction and the consumer goods market. Let it be noted that these prices are higher for products co-produced to a greater extent with other work establishments. At ARMATURA steps are being taken to make all product assortments similarly profitable.

According to comrade Rutkiewicz, under all these highly complicated circumstances and conditions, combining the economic reform with the implementation of the anti-inflation and conservation program is becoming all the more necessary.

That program, which was drafted by the management and presented to the party organization and worker self-government, has been accepted. It is intended primarily to conserve raw materials and energy and use substitute materials--but tried and tested ones, so as not to deteriorate product quality--in lieu of heretofore imported materials. It is the desire of the Krakow ARMATURA to introduce substitutes for materials that until now have traditionally been imported.

Save US\$200,000 a Year

and thus correspondingly relieve the state budget. This concerns chiefly polishing powders, chemicals for galvanic baths and spare parts for the metal-cutting and hydraulic machinery and equipment operated in the casting departments.

Comrade Rutkiewicz declared: "We perceive the steps already taken or in the offing as providing production advantages to both the country as a whole and consequently to the plant and its workforce, and we also strive in this way to bond together the management, the self-government, the trade union and our party organization. Slowly but systematically we are finding our niche, our field of action at our enterprise and, day by day, blazing the trail for general national accord, for social and economic rebirth which still requires of us all tremendous effort and toil."

Ideological Unity Overcomes Crisis

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 18 Aug 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by (mich): "Ideological Unity as a Way of Overcoming the Crisis: Plenary Deliberations of the PZPR Factory Committee at the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant"]

[Text] / (OWN SERVICE) What functions and tasks should be fulfilled by ideological training? Attempts to answer this question were made by the participants in yesterday's plenary session of the PZPR Factory Committee at the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant: secretaries of PZPR plant committees, representatives of the Combine's management and lecturers. The plenum which was chaired by Kazimierz Miniur, secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee, was also attended by Jan Czepiel, secretary of the PZPR Combine Committee and Marian Wasilewski, head of the Center for Survey and Ideological Training. During the plenum a number of important comments was made which give reason to believe that training work will improve during the 1983/1984 training year. / [printed in boldface]

Opening the discussion, Stanislaw Brozyna, secretary for organizational affairs under the PZPR Factory Committee, declared that the party organizations at the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant have passed through an extremely difficult stage. The political struggle under way and crisis phenomena bared their weakness, which consisted in inadequate preparation of party members for discussion with the political enemy and resulted in reducing the effectiveness of their activities. The consequences were particularly tangible in 1981, and some improvement occurred only last year but it cannot satisfy anyone fully. Hence the need to conduct broad training work consonant with social feelings, rejecting ready-made schemas and utilizing the experiences of the past period. This work, when conducted properly--on the basis of the Leninist concept of the party, knowledge of the history of the worker movement and Marxist analysis of social phenomena--should contribute to strengthening the ideological unity of the PZPR at the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant, serve to appraise the situation better and develop among meeting participants the skill of effective discussion and persuasion of others in behalf of the ideological and political rationales of the party.

This motif was referred to by Kazimierz Miniur, who stressed the necessity of broader access of PZPR members to information.

An assessment of information services and training activities during the 1982/1983 training year was presented by Mieczyslaw Bruzda, secretary for propaganda under the PZPR Factory Committee. It ensues from this assessment that most of the candidate training and ideological meetings were properly prepared and corresponded to the program adopted earlier.

Although the devotion of the lecturers and instructions is noteworthy, some of them do not always approach their tasks as conscientiously and thoroughly as they should. Certain basic party organizations which implemented only partially or not at all the topics previously suggested to them were also critically evaluated.

In response to this reproach, one discussant declared that the reason why the recommendations were not implemented was because much more significant problems are being faced at present. He further declared: "Of course, we have

to bear accountability for our obligations, but this should not be a decisive factor in evaluating the activities of basic party organizations."

The participants in the discussion also drew attention to the necessity of assigning lecturers who not only have something to say but--as Jan Czerwielc put it--know how to "sell" their topics in an interesting manner. Hence also, training work should be chiefly based on individuals with adequate experience and authority as well as with considerable knowhow in political science.

During the plenum much attention was devoted to youth, and especially to ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] members, who had in the past taken part in party meetings and lectures. At present, for some unknown reason, this practice has been dropped.

Cooperation with the PZPR Factory Committee was the subject of Marian Wasilewski's speech. He gave assurances that he would exert every effort to make this cooperation smooth. However, misunderstandings often arise owing to the failure to understand that party training, which can and even should be conducted by someone linked directly with the plant, is one thing, while a course of lectures, to which a political scientist may be invited, is quite another thing.

The necessity of ideological work with foremen was stressed by Jan Czepiel, secretary of the PZPR Combine Committee. He also discussed, among other things, the necessity of completely implementing the line outlined by the party at the 9th Congress, whose permanent element is the postulates voiced by the working class in August 1980. Further, he described the results of economic activities in our province during the first half of this year and briefed those present about the directions of the anti-communist offensive in the West.

This plenary session of the PZPR Factory Committee at the Lenin Iron and Steel Plant, the 16th during the committee's current term of office, ended with the adoption of a resolution on the ideological-training activities of the plant party organization during the 1983/1984 training year; one of the new provisions in this resolution is the allowance made the political training of the Combine's administrative and technical personnel.

Gdansk Secretary Discusses People's Desires

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 19 Aug 83 p 3

[Interview with comrade Jozef Bogdanowicz, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, by Zenon Gralak: "People Want to Work in Peace, Make a Living and Live Normally"; passages enclosed in slant-lines printed in boldface in the original source]

/"Hiya Jozek, this is Labedzki on the phone!"/

/Hiya, Jasio!/

/"What's new?"/

/"Nothing special. Peaceful normal work."/

/"Tell me, when is the next plenum of the plant party committee?"/

/"We want to convene it on the 23rd."/

/"What day of the week is that?"/

/"Tuesday....Yes, for sure. It's good you called. We are to discuss the performance for the first half of the year, but a program for more economical operation will probably also have to be considered. This is an urgent problem."/

/"You're right...."/

/"You know, Jasio, I wish you'd work out these matters."/

/"Well, all right. I'll drop by later and we'll decide what to do and how..."/

/This conversation between the former first secretary of the PZPR plant committee at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk and his replacement as of last June, Jozef Bogdanowicz, lasted for another couple of minutes. Properly speaking, it was a friendly talk about the plant's problems between two experienced shipyard workers and party activists. What is more, even their road to the shipyard was similar--and typical, besides, for many among the 6,000 persons working in the Polish shipyards--the road from a village to a big industrial plant. Jan Labedzki had come to Gdansk from Suwalski Province and Jozef Bogdanowicz, from Krosno Odrzanskie in Zielona Gora Province. He had begun to work at the shipyard while still a 16-year boy within the Service to Poland Brigade in 1952, learning the shipyard worker's trade. Later he worked in the boiler welding department as a blacksmith. This was followed by military service and then by return to work at the shipyard./

/He had attended a vocational school, followed by a mechanical engineering technicum and graduation with a foreman's diploma and the position of senior foreman at the marine engine and equipment installation department. He had installed marine engines in dozens of vessels and assembled crane and other equipment as well....Years of hard work, of growing occupational experience combined with growing familiarity with the problems of the shipyards and its employees--the more so considering that to Jozef Bogdanowicz, as to Jan Labedzki, that entire period of more than 30 years was at the same time a period of party activity. He had joined the PZPR as early as in 1953. Not just in order to carry a party card. He was secretary of the basic party organization at his department and an activist of the shipyard party organization who had, together with others, experienced the organization's problems and weaknesses during the most difficult years and was, precisely at that maximally difficult moment, elected member of the plenum and executive board of the PZPR plant committee--at the same time when Jan Labedzki had been elected first secretary./

Jozef Bogdanowicz said: "There was the constant harassment. It was not easy to direct the party organization at this plant. It was not easy later, and it is not easy now either. At a certain moment Labedzki decided that he couldn't cope. He had too many duties, belonging to various commissions of the Central Committee, and in other fields of party action, which might affect political work at our plant. And besides his health is no longer so good. So he decided to resign the post of first secretary. But he remains active in the party organization, as evidenced by the phone conversation which you just heard. On 21 June of this year I was elected first secretary of the plant party committee. This is a great responsibility. The more so considering, as you are aware, the opinion being formed concerning this shipyard and the identity of those forming it."

[Question] And what is your opinion of the shipyard?

[Answer] I believe that it is just like hundreds of other plants in this country, although it is burdened by the opinion that it is a bastion of Solidarity. Yet the people who work here have the same problems as those working in other plants and, like those, an overwhelming majority desire to work in peace, make a living and live normally. But there also are some people who, for obvious reasons, would like the Gdansk Shipyard to continue receiving a steady stream of always the same publicity....Of course, in a certain context....

[Question] The more so considering that Walesa works at your shipyard.

[Answer] To us Walesa is an ordinary employee and in that capacity we have no objections to him. When he violated discipline and decided on his own to take that "Polish vacation" which became--also for known reasons--famous throughout the world, he was appropriately penalized, just like any other shipyard worker would be penalized for such a transgression. He is, however, surrounded by an envelope created abroad, as it were. Those TV cameras filming Walesa's coming to work, those crowds of journalists outside the gate. That artificial atmosphere of something exceptional, cultivated externally by hostile forces. There is hardly any doubt that all this is inspired from abroad through the mediation of the huge propaganda machinery of certain known radio stations. This precisely is an example of an undoubted propagandistic aggression. And yesterday, last Sunday, attempts were made to organize a manifestation in front of the shipyard on the anniversary of the outbreak of the August strike. As usual, the affair began at St. Brigid's Church. It was thus yet another retake of an old scenario which, however, could not be carried out, because, as I already stated, shipyard workers want to work honestly and in peace.

[Question] What about that work? How's it going?

[Answer] Precisely last Friday we launched yet another vessel--a supply tugboat, the Neftyegaz 29, designed to carry supplies to offshore drilling rigs. We are building tugboats of this kind for the Soviet Union. We also build refrigerator ships, general cargo ships, chemicals carriers and other ship types. This year we intend to release for operation vessels with an aggregate capacity of more than 198,000 d.w.t. For comparison, in 1979 we had built shipping with an aggregate capacity of 184,200 d.w.t., that is, of lower tonnage. In 1981 the shipping completed had an aggregate carrying capacity of

barely 129,000 d.w.t. and a year later, 155,400 d.w.t. Thus the progress is evident, although it does not come easy and we have continuing problems in fulfilling the plan targets.

These problems chiefly relate to our co-producers. This is a topic which I don't need to expand upon, since it is rather well-known. This concerns the quality and punctuality of the supplies delivered to the great assembly plant represented by our shipyard, which relies on a thousand different suppliers. There also are problems in applying the economic reform, or rather in adapting its provisions to the specific aspects of the shipyard's operations, with its accounts to be cleared with the bank over periods longer than quarterly ones. I don't want to expand on this topic either, in this case because the matter is making good progress and should soon be resolved. Appropriate teams of experts are working on this matter, which relates to applying the reform, and they are to submit suitable proposals. There also are many matters which we have to resolve ourselves, and for them too there exist suitable programs intended to improve the situation systematically.

But the main problem is the lack of hands to work, and in such basic occupations at that as hull welders and hull and pipe installers. We have a continuing shortage of maintenance personnel and painters. People are quitting work at the shipyard, because it is hard work and has in recent years become relatively unattractive financially. This is best illustrated by the fact that the shipyard's workforce has dropped from more than 16,000 to 13,700. Thus, in recent years quite a few people, generally including the best skilled workers, have left us. The situation is aggravated by the catastrophic lack of housing and the problems in obtaining apartments. At present 2,500 shipyard workers are awaiting apartments. And the number of applicants for housing will grow, because 53 percent of the workforce consists of young people up to 30 years old.

[Question] Do you see any way out of the situation?

[Answer] We expect help from the central authorities in the form of the construction of assignable billeted housing. But we are not waiting for manna from heaven. We want to develop shipyard-sponsored private home building. We already have our own design of such single-family houses and we even have built 20 such prefabricated houses at our shipyard. We have the capacity for expanding the production of these houses to more than 100 a year. They will be built by their future inhabitants themselves, with the shipyard's help. There still exist siting problems, but we hope to overcome them with the help of the municipal authorities. I wish to stress that these matters are being actively attended to--with the help of our party organization--by the plant chapter of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) and the plant trade union, which display great activism in resolving specific problems of the workforce's living conditions.

[Question] How many people have so far joined the trade union?

[Answer] Figures from a few days ago show that our shipyard trade union already has 1,330 members. We have trade union chapters in individual departments. But it has to be stated that the beginning was difficult. Threats and epithets had been hurled at new members, and they even experienced chicaneries, in their places of residence at that. An intensive leaflet drive

slander our trade union had been conducted. Nowadays such actions are sporadic and the trade union is gaining new members each day. The plant chapter of the PRON is broadening its scope of activities. The first department PRON circles are arising. The formation of the self-government and Worker Council at the Gdansk Shipyard is to the credit of the activists of that movement, among other things. That had been a kind of a political battle and at the same time a test of the attitude of the workforce.

[Question] In what sense?

[Answer] Talks with the former Worker Council elected prior to December 1981 were attempted in order to reactivate it, of course upon amending its statute which was not consonant with the decree on enterprise self-government. Unfortunately, they failed. Hence, a founding committee was established, a new statute drafted and the decision to conduct new elections made. Twenty-five election districts were established within the shipyard and elections commenced. Not everyone had liked it, of course. The forces of the opposition commenced activities. Appeals to boycott the elections were made: this was to cause the fiasco of the entire social initiative intended to normalize the governing of the shipyard. The opposition suffered a defeat. Fifty-four percent of the workforce took part in the elections. A 20-member Worker Council was elected, and it included 14 party members. Pressure and threats did not help, because the times are changing. Above all, the country's economic and socio-political situation is changing and, in this connection, so is the situation at our shipyard. As I emphasized previously, a considerable majority of the shipyard workers desires stabilization.

[Question] By now the conditions for the activity of the party organization are probably easier, are not they?

[Answer] I'll not conceal that the past 3 years have been exceptional to our organization. We have experienced a great deal here. That was period of veritable political contests. I must admit that many have left us, rejected the party and gave up their party cards, for various reasons besides. Some were doubters, unconvincing in particular situations which took place during those years. But there also were political chameleons who changed their color when they felt the wind blowing from another direction. They miscalculated. As a result, 2,024 of us party members have remained, but they are persons who know why they have joined the PZPR and desire to be active. In addition, we are admitting new members to the party, and the most important thing is that they are young people. They say that they want to pass the party's test--that they are joining it because things are difficult. With such people it is easier to work as well.

Furthermore, people are increasingly coming with personal and occupational problems for help to our party organizations, attempting to resolve them jointly with us. Quite often they look up to party organizations for justice and help against the injustices they experience. We try to help them. I myself have spoken at the plant party committee with several dozens of persons who came with personal problems. Let me add that most of them were non-party members. We are simply needed by the people.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Party Developments in Local Areas

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 22 Aug 83 pp 3,4

[Article by Bogumila Pieczonkowa: "Breaking the Vicious Circle of Rigid Schemas: The Party in the Field"]

[Text] What is the status of the Wieliczka party organization, whose range encompasses the city and gmina [parish] of Wieliczka with 29 villages? So far as territorial scope is concerned, it leads other party organizations at the same level in the nation. Hence the greater significance of the nature and performance of the organizational structure of the Wieliczka organization. In other words, the question is to what extent do documents reflect the actual reality? Do they distort it, or perhaps are they a fiction?

Are organizational structures passing the test of time? Are they at least as suitable as they had been once?

The inviolable principles in the country and the party are unchanged, but the political, social, economic and cultural conditions have changed and continue to change. New generations of Poles are finding their voice. In view of these processes, are not changes in party structure also needed?

Such are the questions asked during the last reports-programs conference of the Wieliczka PZPR organizations, at which it was recommended that the city-gmina party committee and its executive board analyze the situation and answer these questions thoroughly.

Documents and Reality

The card-file indexes containing the registries of party organizations and their membership rolls in the area were verified on the spot, chiefly in the countryside. Already at the outset it turned out that the records also include the party organizations that had disintegrated. After deleting these, it turned out that the Wieliczka party organization includes 60 basic party organizations (POPs). But the question also was whether each of these POPs is meeting the basic requirement of the Statute, that is: what is the size of its membership? are dues paid regularly? are meetings held regularly? what are the level and topics of party meetings and their attendance?

Individual Talks

Political functionaries from the city-gmina party committee (KMG) and party activists discussed these questions with party members in the field. In addition to the problem-oriented commissions established by the KMG, a particularly strong operational commission on intra-party matters was set up, almost exclusively for the sole purpose of interviewing party members in their communities where they work and live. Attention was chiefly focused on talking with the members of those party organizations which are completely inactive or only minimally active. Supporting the weakest organizations has in some cases produced good result. But the point of gravity could shift in the

direction of the problem of what should be done about the organizations which have revived, to be sure, but consist of fewer than the Statute-required 5 members each? And what should be done about the aktiv of these organizations which, owing to their numerical smallness, have to be disbanded?

A Force of More Than One Thousand Comrades

These problems did not overshadow matters relating to party membership itself. Attempts were made to talk with as many comrades as possible. At present the party membership of more than 150 persons is still under a question mark: Interviews with these individuals are continuing and their result will affect the final decisions. Similarly, this month a decision will be taken on the question of the excessively long waiting period for some party candidates: either they will receive party cards or be deleted from the records, in the latter case chiefly owing to the passivity of certain individuals.

Everything indicates that the strength of the Wieliczka party organization will remain at the level of about 1,100 members.

Disturbing Phenomena

After this first stage of organizational activities is over, the expansion of ideological and political work as well as a broad civic education drive for admission of new candidate members are expected. For the assessment of the party's status revealed certain disturbing phenomena in their entire acuteness. First, there are too few blue-collar workers among party members at work establishments--with the exception of the Salt Mine, the POLAM Lighting Equipment Plant and HYDROKOP [Hydraulic Mine]. Similarly, there are too few farmers in the party. Secondly, most of the party members are longtime members: this involves a multitude of pensioners, annuitants and veterans of the worker movement. The numerically weakest group is that of members belonging to the party for 6 to 10 years, and it is this group that accounts for the largest proportion--50 percent--of members deleted from the rolls of the Wieliczka party organization. Thirdly, the largest group within the party consists of persons over 30 and up to 50 years old--the aforementioned veterans of labor. The number of members below 30 years of age is estimated at 66. Thus while the undoubted capital of the party represented by the experience and firm ideology of persons who have long been associated with it is to be properly appreciated, the party must think of the future and base itself on young people as well.

Facing the truth dictates to the Wieliczka organization the need to broaden the admission of blue-collar workers, peasants and young people to its ranks. It was acknowledged that new admissions will be preceded by bringing order into organizational structures, so that all current and new party members would find within them their own niches, most suitable for their party work.

What Does the Party Statute Say About It?

The revised and amended--as stressed in its title--PZPR Statute voted upon by the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, declares that "the party bases its activities on the party organizations formed according to the production-territorial principle," and at the same time that "within the framework of the party's overall organizational structure, party echelons have the right to

adapt organizational structures to the party's actual needs and conditions of activity, so as to assure the proper organization and coordination of party work." It is also clearly specified that "party committees may--in cooperation with superior party echelons--establish, combine and divide basic party organizations in the areas under their jurisdiction...upon prior consultation with the concerned persons." The Statute also declares that "in order to develop effective means of implementing the party's policy and augment the party's influence in certain socio-occupational communities, particularly those with markedly dispersed employment and numerically small POPs, party community committees may be established." Furthermore, the Statute endows the committees, including the city-gmina ones, with the right to form "local work groups from among party members inhabiting a given area."

Important Decisions Are Being Taken

On the basis of a survey of the situation, the KMG Executive Board provided more specific answers to the questions asked of it. It also expressed its position--which was accepted by the Plenum--on the organizational status and needed changes in the party's organizational structures. The Organizational Department of the Krakow PZPR Committee authorized the Executive Board to make the decisions which it took at its last two sessions. As for the Plenum of the KMG that had deliberated on the last day of June, it fully confirmed these decisions and undertakings of the Executive Board.

Under these circumstances it became necessary, wrenching as this decision was, to dissolve 10 POPs failing to meet the Statute's requirements, of which eight rural POPs and 2 urban POPs.

Party organizations were merged in Choragwica and Mietniow as well as in Raciborsk and Jankowka. In addition party groups from the organizations that had disintegrated were transferred to the POP under the WPHW [expansion unknown] in Krakow and the PZPR plant committee at the Piaszow Railroad Hub.

/The postulate of the Wieliczka organization, as well as of the party-member farmers themselves, concerning the need to establish a rural party organization, has finally been implemented./ [printed in boldface] For previously party-member farmers were dispersed among many party organizations at which former employees of work establishments, pensioners and annuitants predominate to the extent of as much as 90 percent. Such a dispersal of party-member farmers, whose numbers are scanty anyway, and their involvement with party branches unconnected with farming, has also led to many justified reservations. The establishment of a party organization for farmers under the Co-operative Bank has afforded them convenient conditions for collective action, the more so considering that it also includes farmers from the disbanded party organizations as well as from villages at which no such organizations had previously been active. Great hopes are being placed in this new party organization associating farmers who mostly engage in truck gardening operations. The new organization is to be an opinion-shaper within the rural community, whose needs are best known by the party-member farmers who live and work in it. It is important that they report on rural problems to the party plenums and thereupon act on them in the countryside.

In Close Contact With Society

This entire first stage of activities is linked to the conviction that broader operation by groups of party aktiv is expedient. In particular, because numerically small party organizations still remain in existence, chiefly in the countryside, and since they consist of just five or a few more members, they cannot cope with their tasks, which are particularly extensive in the socio-economic domain.

Thus, the innovation of the rural party organization within the structure of the Wieliczka party organization, is being followed by other structural changes. The vicious circle of duplicating the model of party organizations at work establishments and transferring schematically, mechanically, this model to the countryside has been broken. The broad statutory powers resolved upon at the 9th Party Congress, which meet the needs, are being utilized in all undertakings of this kind. Thus:

--To implement specific, merit-based and organizational tasks, a party team of rural aktiv has been established. This team consists of the party members employed in the self-government bodies of the cooperatives and farmers' unions. Just like the rural party organization, this team, too, on the basis of its familiarity with rural affairs, is to be of an opinion-shaping and initiating nature and contribute to the solution of rural problems.

--The idea of setting up a team of party members acting as heads of villages has been conceived. Of the 29 hamlets, as many as 11 are managed by heads who have party cards; thus, this is a substantial proportion. The Wieliczka party organization and its KMG expect from that group particularly effective support for all its rural measures.

--Major changes are expected in the functioning of the PZPR city-gmina echelon and in its relations with the local authorities and echelons, that is, with the City-Gmina Administrative Office, the City-Gmina People's Council, youth organizations, social organizations, and trade-union and self-government organizations.

What does this essentially imply? For example, the PZPR city-gmina echelon will expand its activities with the support of the POP at the City-Gmina Administrative Office in matters belonging to its competences. At the same time, the formation of groups of party-member councilmen will result in providing similar support as regards the scope of activities of the City-Gmina People's Council and within its social services commissions. As for the relationship between the party echelon and the youth movement, it will be strengthened by the already established commission for youth affairs, whose membership includes young activists--members of the PZPR.

--To shorten markedly the path between the Wieliczka party organization, its echelon, and the local communities, an inter-party team for the suggestions and postulates of the population is being set up. Representatives of the fraternal political groupings will be invited to become its members, so as to assure joint action on the broadest, strong and cohesive front. On behalf of the party, the following are represented on this team: the first secretary of the KMG party organization; organizational secretaries of local party organizations; chairmen of specific commissions such as the economic, rural, youth and

KMG complaints and grievances commissions; the chairman of the City-Gmina Council and the Chief of the Wieliczka City-Gmina Council; party-member deputies to the Parliament and councilmen. The team will also, of course, include the chairman of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] in Wieliczka.

This coming September a new concept of party work will be introduced, particularly in the countryside. It will be preceded by consultations in which members of the newly created party structure will also take part.

Needed: Reserves

All that has been said above demonstrates that rooted--but unsuccessful, unsuited to reality, needs and conditions--practices are being done away with not just on one sector but wherever needed. This also applies to matters relating to party cadres. In this field too, it was decided to break the traditional vicious circle. For it is no secret that previously the potential of the cadre held in reserve for exercising elected party functions has been neglected. As a result, owing to the lack of a choice, many comrades have been entrusted with party functions for several terms of office in a row, and they have been exercising them for many years, in some cases even for as long as 20 years. There also occur instances in which comrades holding high-level posts in, e.g. the administration, also exercise, to put it this way, party functions, which is neither a desirable nor regular practice.

To obviate these irregularities, break the circle of ever the same individuals and let in new people who for the most part already have proved themselves in social and political action, the Wieliczka party organization expects to conduct another review of its cadres, this time in order to uncover a reserve and retrain it prior to commencing the reports-elections campaign. This concerns nominating the most promising individuals, selecting the best ones who, while in marching order, should take over the implementation of the duties that will be entrusted to them by voters and recommended to them by party echelons in work collectives and residential communities. This does not mean that the older, tried and tested cadre will be completely discarded, but the Wieliczka party organization recognizes that selecting a party reserve for exercising elected party functions is particularly necessary.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Assessment of Political Party Indoctrination

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 2 Aug 83 p 6

[Article by jb: "Experiences and Conclusions: Party Training in the Assessment of the Inowroclaw Regional Center for Party Work"]

[Text] At the Regional Center for Party Work in Inowroclaw, an assessment of the realization of principles of political education within the party during the school year of 1982/83 was made with the participation of the first secretaries of party instances and the directors of centers for ideological and educational work.

In training work in the second year of realization of the new system of political education, clear progress was made in raising the political activity of party members.

Out of a total number of 320 district and basic party organizations in our region, 26 party organizations have not taken up training. This figure includes organizations within the city and community committees in Gniewkowo--8, Pakosc--7, 5 organizations of the community committee in Inowroclaw, 3 in Kruszwica and 2 in Dabrowa Biskupa. For the most part, these are organizations with less than 10 party members. However, as studies conducted by the ROPP [Regional Center for Party Work] have shown, the causes for the lack of training have their origins in a lack of greater interest in training of the secretaries of these same organizations as well as a lack of proper concern on the part of the aktiv of the party instance which is directed to work with the basic party organizations of low membership and activity.

Party candidate training has been undertaken and realized by instances in Pakosc and Zlotniki Kujawskie. As regards the small number of candidates in the remaining communities and cities, the conducting of the entire cycle of training of candidates at the ROPP in Inowroclaw has turned out to be a prudent solution.

All of the committees with the exception of the Rojewo community committee have made efforts to organize party training for members at a low level of political schooling. In Rojewo meanwhile, party members with little training have been introduced to universal training. The results of this training are not entirely satisfactory since the attendance of the participants at these training sessions has been very low in many cases.

In the Regional Center for Party Work, a 20-member team of lecturers is active. Their work is systematic.

Analysis of the course of political training, assessment of the degree of commitment of committees and primary party organizations to the realization of training programs and ascertainment of the shortcomings and faults that still occur have made it possible to work out a series of recommendations for work to be done in the coming training year.

Guidelines for activity to vitalize the work of OPIW program councils have been set. This is one of the most important jobs to be undertaken since the director of OPIW and individual activists of the program councils of these centers have been rather frequently encumbered by the party instances with political training. The basic party cells should oblige their members and short-term members to participate in training and periodically assess their activeness and participation in that training.

Following the example of the Zlotniki Kujawskie community committee, the ROPP intends to generalize, in as much as the environmental and organizational conditions for this are present, in remaining party instances the training of the smallest and weakest primary party organizations at joint meetings of 2-3 organizations. There has also arisen the need for conducting with the assistance of the WOIiKI the training of lecturers on training methods.

A 16-member aktiv of ROPP has been directed for a longer period of time to work with small and weak party organizations, particularly in rural areas. The fundamental weakness of small primary party organizations is that they are often unable to organize their work and therefore fall into passivity and isolation within their community. The assistance offered by ROPP has the goal of strengthening their organizations and their political independence.

Ideological Propaganda Party Tasks

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 10 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Ledzion: "Following 12th Plenum of PZPR Central Committee: Assignments in Party's Ideological and Propaganda Work"]

[Text] A few days ago, the Executive Board of the Lodz PZPR Committee ratified its "Program and Organizational Principles of Ideological Education and Readership in the Lodz Party Organization for the 1983/84 Training Year."

I would like to present those principles along with some observations and proposals for implementing this program. I feel that this statement may be useful for organizers of party training and may also encourage the party's ideological and propaganda aktiv to speak out.

It is known everywhere today that the party entered into discussion with the political opposition during a period of complicated crisis in an ideologically unarmed state, helpless and often without factual means of argument. I feel that one of the causes of this state of affairs was a lack in the past 10 years of authentic and steady ideological and educational work, authentic understanding of marxism-leninism, and application of those principles to party organization practice.

In the past year, there have been efforts made to stress making a breakthrough both in methods and in the quality of training work, careful choosing of lecturers and teachers as well as in very exact formulation of party goals that are to be accomplished through ideological education.

In the resolution passed by the 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee we read that "The Central Committee orders party instances and organizations to properly prepare their training work for 1983/84. Popularizing the knowledge of the party's ideology and program remains the chief task of party training. The responsibility of all organizations and members of the PZPR is that of deepening the ideological and political consolidation of the party, strengthening the cohesion of its ranks and increasing active-ness in daily action."

The programmatic and organizational guidelines for ideological education and readership in the Lodz party organization developed on the basis of the Lodz instance's experiences of last year as outlined by the secretariat of the PZPR Provincial Committee in July of this year and recommendations made at sessions of the executive board of the PZPR Lodz Committee (March, May, July of this year) foresee the following forms for a system of ideological and political training of members and party candidates in party organizations and instances. They are: universal training of members and candidates in the form of primary party organization ideological meetings, training of PZPR candidates and new young members, training within given communities, training courses for the party aktiv, the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism, theoretical conferences, seminars, conservatories, lecture activity and party readership.

In the whole system of party training, particular attention must be paid to general training of party members and candidates in the form of ideological meetings of the basic party organizations. These are charter meetings of party organizations dedicated to the overall ideological and political problems set within a given year by the party leadership. The thematic cycle "Key Problems of PZPR Policy" containing 11 thematic proposals will be the subject of this form of training in 1983/84.

The essential advantage of ideological meetings of the primary party organization is the possibility that it presents for their participants to quickly

assimilate a specific and basic range of knowledge and information necessary to the understanding of various facts, phenomena and ideological, political and economic processes of the present times.

The ideological meetings of the primary party organizations, conducted by the method of political discussion, demands a greater amount of work from their organizers (primary party organization secretaries and lecturers). This is due to the fact that it is necessary to prepare a list of literature and themes (questions) for discussion which must be made available to participants prior to the meeting so that they will be able to consider this information and prepare themselves to speak out. The list of literature recommended for the meeting should be divided into basic literature (levels 1-2) with which all participants should be familiar and complementary literature which must be recommended as party assignments to those more interested in the theme of discussion.

At the start of the meeting, there must be presented problems or questions to which the participants should be able to find answers during the discussion (they cannot be obvious problems since the discussion would then be senseless). The presented problems (or questions) should provoke discussion. The discussion must be conducted in a direction formulating specific assessments or simple confirmation of the relationship between facts and phenomena of the given process. Attaching discussion to one's own work, attitudes and convictions will arouse greater interest and emotional involvement.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the whole discussion must be summarized, repeating the conclusions reached at that time. This will consolidate the position reached and point out its practical significance to the given community. As a result of the ideological meeting, the primary party organization may adopt a resolution (conclusions).

The ideological meetings should become a point of genuine discussion and polemics that establish an agreed-upon position on the most important current problems and the work that they place before the basic party organization, the party in general and every party member and candidate.

In effect, every party member should understand what the PZPR is fighting for, what its goals are, who its allies are, whom it wants to reach, what the present ideological and political struggle concerns and the role of each member and his basic organization in the life of the party.

The accomplishment of the tasks mentioned conclusively shows the increasing rank of ideological work in the Lodz party organization and the results in the realization of the charter responsibility of every member and candidate and every party organization. Concrete ideological and political inspiration preceded by reliable information and knowledge, frank party discussion and especially an exact definition of goals and assignments is what is necessary today.

Krakow Committee on Policy of Authorities

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 10 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by bp: "Conference of the Krakow PZPR Committee: The Credibility and Policy of the Authorities Must Be Cared For Everywhere"]

[Text] (Own information) Yesterday's meeting of the secretaries of plant committees and basic party organizations, the directors of 56 of Krakow's largest work establishments, secretaries of party neighborhood economic committees and the leaders of the Krakow party organization was dedicated to assessment of the political and social situation, summarizing the production results of the past 7 months, drawing conclusions from those results and outlining directions for action. The first secretary of the Krakow PZPR Committee, Jozef Gajewicz, chaired the conference. Others present were Jan Czepiel, Jozef Gregorczyk and the chairman of the KKKP [Krakow Commission for Party Control], Leonard Zukiewicz. Tadeusz Salwa, the mayor of Krakow, was also invited to this conference.

Deputy commander of the provincial MO [Citizen's Militia] in Krakow, Jozef Biel, spoke about the situation in the nation and in Krakow Province. He mentioned the normalization of life being achieved, the calming down of the public mood and the growing conviction that work is the basic condition for overcoming the crisis and improving our lives. Of course, there is still a long way to go before we see the complete results of our work in these areas. There still continue to exist dangers from our enemies and political opponents and the ideological and political struggle goes on. The party organizations and every party member bear great responsibilities.

It is necessary in our places of work to increase organization and order, strengthen supervision, prevent economic crime, and make greater efforts to safeguard public property. Among the workers, one cannot help but perceive various anxieties over the state of the economy and the living conditions. Solving these problems depends to a considerable degree upon implementing the economic reform and the activity of the restored trade unions and their aktiv.

Tadeusz Salwa, reporting on realization of the social and economic plan said that: "In 7 months so far this year, the growth of production in industry and construction that began in the fourth quarter of last year has continued...Production growth in these branches of the economy has been attained mainly by increasing work output, which is a favorable sign, however, the possibilities that exist in this area are considerably higher and we must take advantage of them...Economic relations are taking a bad turn--the much faster growth in wages as compared to the increase in productivity has become a cause of inflation...Industry and construction are having serious difficulties with materials, raw materials and their specialist cadres--cadre problems are often apparent since the economic units are not rationalizing their employment policies."

The mayor stated that the harvest is turning out better this year than in previous years and this has been brought about by good weather and better

organization. Wheat harvests have been better than last year but we have brought in somewhat less rye and barley. June listings have shown a drop in head of cattle, swine, piglets, boar cubs, and sows. This drop was foreseen and is the result of problems in obtaining feed. Last year's good results in plant production are a basis for optimism but the development of animal production demands time. Some improvement in this will be seen only next year. There has been a ninefold increase in the harvest of grain as compared to last year's figures.

The director of the Economics Division of the Krakow PZPR Committee, Tadeusz Nowicki, presented the directions that party work in social and economic affairs is taking. He stressed the fact that all party organizations in production and service establishments should assess the economic situation with reference to the results attained in the first half of the year. Referring to favorable processes emerging in our economy, he pointed out aspects that are still a cause of dissatisfaction such as: "...A shortage of raw and production materials continues and there is a lack of results in the realization of government and plant thrift and anti-inflation programs...a severe deterioration of product quality...planned improvements in the production superstructure and a preference on consumer production has not been attained...there is a lack of improvement in shaping basic economic relationships in a cost--price and productivity--wage arrangement.

"The high rate of growth in earnings and income and rapid price increases, even if they are justifiable in relation to wages," said Tadeusz Nowicki, "are reasons that the inflationary spiral has not been very much mastered. However, in regards to this, it must be especially emphasized that the drop in real income has been brought under control."

Organizational tasks facing the party were discussed by the director of the Organizational Division of the Krakow PZPR Committee, Kazimierz Gron.

Secretary of the Krakow PZPR Committee, Jan Czepiel, devoted a large part of his presentation to propaganda by the opposition. He also presented the tasks of the party organizations in the realm of ideological and political activity.

Jozef Gajewicz spoke about the dangers still existing since the abrogation of martial law. He discussed the necessity of aggressive action by party organizations and showed the processes by which the party is gaining credibility for itself and its policies. He stressed the fact that the party must nurture its credibility at all levels, starting with work establishments. The responsibility of plant political leadership and management is to conduct an extensive dialogue with the workers. There exists an urgent need to reinforce the authority of plant management and the secretaries of party organizations. Plant directors and party secretaries must cooperate closely with one another and help each other.

Lublin Secretary on Party, Creative Artists Community

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 17 Aug 83 pp 4, 5

[Reprint of conversation published in AKCENT between Boguslaw Wroblewski, chief editor of AKCENT and Dr Wieslaw Skrzypko, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Lublin: "Conversation with PZPR Provincial Committee in Lublin First Secretary Dr W. Skrzypko: The Present Contribution of Lublin to Polish Science and Culture: The Relationship of the Party and State to the Artists' Community," time and place not given]

[Text] In its second issue for this year, the Lublin quarterly AKCENT published an interview with the first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Lublin, Dr Wieslaw Skrzypko. The interview was conducted by the chief editor of this literary and artistic journal, Boguslaw Wroblewski. We are reprinting extensive portions of that interview which was titled "Everything Is Decided By Man...."

[B. Wroblewski] From the perspective of your own years of experience observing the scientific and cultural affairs of Lublin Province, how do you assess the present contribution Lublin is making to Polish science and culture? In the last 40 years since the end of World War II, has Lublin had any opportunities that it hasn't used?

[W. Skrzypko] ...In my opinion, Lublin has made the greatest use of its possibilities as a center of learning...I think that it has made less use of its possibilities as a center of cultural life. That doesn't mean that Lublin has squandered those chances because there really is a vigorous community for theater, plastic arts and literature but this cultural life does have its defects. First of all, there has been weak integration of the cultural community so its effect upon the Lublin public is not as strong as it could be. Second, the cultural community has experienced more high and low periods than the scientific community. It has been under more tension and suffered from more bitterness and this has resulted in culturally active people leaving Lublin in certain periods. This has been especially true of journalists and members of the theatrical community....

[B. Wroblewski] It is interesting that this hasn't happened on such a scale in, for example, Poznan or Gdansk for them to call to mind examples of centers of such potential (though not necessarily in terms of number of inhabitants). In your opinion, what were the causes of this exodus of cultured people from Lublin?

[W. Skrzypko] I think that there were various causes. Some people left because of housing problems but we have now found better solutions to those problems. Other valuable individuals were drawn from our community simply by more vigorous areas offering more attractive types of work and possibilities for activity connected with film, for example, or television.

[B. Wroblewski] This means then that Lublin did not have its own attractions....

[W. Skrzyllo] There were even times when the city almost completely lost any attraction. There were also times, and we can't hide this, when relationships between people were not the best.

[B. Wroblewski] Could you elaborate?

[W. Skrzyllo] Let's take as an example the theatrical community. I can remember when Braun was the director of the dramatic theater. He tried to conduct a very ambitious repertoire. He was succeeding in this. He was producing many important plays that were performed and appreciated in Lublin and in other cities as well but he frequently ran into a wall of indifference and reluctance, even in his own community. The Lublin theater is a difficult situation: it must decide whether it will present a very ambitious repertoire for a sophisticated audience or very popular plays for persons of average tastes. Such a sharp alternative surely doesn't make the job any easier...There were several causes and there isn't time to mention all of them but, for me, Braun's leaving our theater after it's 13th anniversary was symptomatic of everything that went wrong.

[B. Wroblewski] ...What must be done to put an end to this loss of people in Lublin and to counter any further losses of individuals?

[W. Skrzyllo] To me it seems that this is a matter of cultural policy, of the policy of the authorities toward the cultural community, both in solving their living problems and in broadening their sphere of creative and professional activity, for example, building a television and radio center in Lublin. What is needed above all is understanding on the part of the authorities for the problems of artists and their taking up and supporting all valuable initiatives. For example....

[B. Wroblewski] The word "province," sometimes appearing in solutions for Lublin cultural life would seem...unjustified. Is it indeed provincial? I would define the word not in a geographical sense but in some psychological sense as a lack of imagination. The outcome of scientific and artistic activity cannot be predicted to the end and a large margin for risk is necessary here. Complete success in scientific and artistic enterprises is attainable when the goals set are high. "Province" is characterized by small goals and little risk. This applies to both the administrators of culture and the artists themselves. It sometimes happens that the most beautiful ideas in a province are lost in the meanderings of assurance. Could these characteristics be true of Lublin and to what extent?

[W. Skrzyllo] I would look at that from an historical perspective. It is true that, in a number of ways, Lublin still has provincial traits as you see them but it will be able to overcome many of the most typical such traits. With regards to what is happening here, there has already been a feeling of something worse. Important cultural initiatives being taken up

outside of Warsaw can be known to the average citizen but the relicts of provincial intellectual culture have still not appeared in our community....

[B. Wroblewski] If it were possible today to change some of the Lublin cultural landscape, what would you change first of all?

[W. Skrzypko] I keep thinking about the fact that we have well-operated music and art schools in our region. Over time, the most popular course at Maria Curie Skłodowska University have not been the traditional law, biology or physiology studies but pedagogical studies, music and art. There is a decided lack of art schools in Lublin....

[B. Wroblewski] I would propose now a broadening of perspectives on matters concerning not only our region. In an interview given to one weekly journal, you stated in response to a question about the relationship between party instances and the administration that you, as a lawyer, know that decisions forced upon people are poorly followed. Does this just concern the party and the administration?

[W. Skrzypko] The administration operates through decisions. Those decisions should be properly made and should be the result of needs and possibilities. They should agree with a publicly accepted program of action. The administration should make those decisions knowingly and not because they have been compelled to do so. As I understand your question, it concerns the relationship between the party and the artists' community. I feel that such proceedings are very justifiable here. Come what may, directives and commands in this community have never produced the desired results. This is a very sensitive and ambitious community. Its specific character must be understood and efforts must be made to create a proper climate for creative endeavor. Of course, there must be good will on the other side and an understanding of the political reality we face as well as the needs of the public.

[B. Wroblewski] If, however, one were to look realistically at the last few months, certain unpopular decisions have been made and are being enforced in the name of the most general social and political reasons....

[W. Skrzypko] I am of the opinion that a dialogue between the administrative and political authorities and the artists is more necessary now than ever. If there are poor decisions made that cause dissatisfaction within that community, they are the result of a lack of communication or one side or the other being unable to adjust their own position. If a dialogue does not produce any results, this may lead to a situation in which everything must be done by commands. We are speaking on a broad, somewhat abstract level but if I consider Lublin, I do not perceive, unless I am mistaken, any sort of bitterness between the authorities and the artists' community....

On the other hand, the matter is of a different dimension in the rest of the country. There have come into play, with regards to ZASP [Union of Polish Actors] and the literary community factors of great importance to the artists' community and have led to a breakdown in communication.

[B. Wroblewski] Would you blame just one side for this state of affairs?

[W. Skrzyllo] No, not at all. I don't know the entire anatomy of the conflict well enough to make such a judgment. As in any situation of this sort, mistakes could have been made by both sides. If I did have to point out the most important point of conflict, I would have to say that it is the activity of artistic organizations in realms beyond the limits of their charters, in politics, and this causes conflicts....

[B. Wroblewski] In this interview, you mentioned the recently obvious division of the artists' community into utopians and realists....

[W. Skrzyllo] Please look at how a few scientific employees or even others have direct contact with practical experience. On one thing you have to agree: If a developed theory does not conflict with practice and it is not seen in this regard, it will lead to the creation of abstract plans and visions that will absolutely fall to pieces in real conditions. If we were to look at where that conflict has come out most strongly, it is no coincidence that philosophers, sociologists, economists, lawyers and humanists are what we see first....

The second thing is the fact that it is the younger group that is most subject to rage. For that reason, greater judgment and realism has been shown by people more mature and sophisticated by their age and education. However, activity by these realists was weak.

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MARXIST PHILOSOPHER COMMENTS ON SOCIAL CRISIS

Alienation, Deformations Cited

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 17, 24 Apr 83 p 8

[Interview with Prof Adam Schaff by Bronislaw Tumilowicz: "Man Between Crisis and Socialism"; date and place not specified. Cited article by Schaff in TU I TERAZ published in JRPS 84097, 11 Aug 83, No 2182 of this series, pp 42-49]

[Text] Prof Adam Schaff recently turned 70. On this occasion we asked him for his thoughts on the present situation in the country. We believe that the opinions expressed in this interview will stimulate further reflection and discussion.

[Question] The past year and a half has caused a shift in the feelings of many social groups in our country. Owing to the crisis and the not always heartening events and socioeconomic trends, the tone of everyday conversations is rather pessimistic. Many people seem to have lost their ambition, both young people who are beginning careers and those who are at the peak of their professional and social activity. On the other hand, individuals of retirement age often become apathetic, if not downright alarmed. Such phenomena are commonly called alienation. Because some of your works deal with the theory of alienation, I would like to ask if this theory has a practical application, if we can derive any conclusions from it as to ways of eliminating negative social processes.

[Answer] I have no doubt that the theory of alienation is not only useful for analyzing the present crisis in Poland but is also useful from a practical viewpoint, in measures directed toward overcoming the crisis. Negative social phenomena can be neutralized and overcome by using the social sciences, but we must first know and understand the causes and mechanisms of these phenomena. The theory of alienation, which I have studied for many years, can also be helpful here. I have published a great deal on this subject--several articles and two books: "Marxism and the Individual," published in 1965, and a monograph on the theory of alienation, "Alienation as a Social Phenomenon," published in 1977. The latter work was translated into many languages but unfortunately did not appear in a Polish translation, I suppose because of

the author, since the strictly academic content of the book does not hinder publication.

Without going into a detailed exposition of the theory of alienation, I must say a few words here about a certain matter connected with it. Normally when we speak of alienation we mean "self-alienation," that is, man's alienation as an individual from society, from other people and even from his own personality. We forget, however, that in light of the marxist theory of alienation, subjective alienation is a secondary factor in relation to objective alienation, which speaks of man's works, the products of his labor that evade his control and that in specific social mechanisms begin to function not only independently of man's will but even against it. Existentialism, which popularized the theory of alienation, perceived and understood only its subjective form; this of course was connected with the philosophical position of the authors of this theory, Sartre, Camus and others. If, however, there was some understanding of the dual nature of the theory of alienation, in which man always appears as a central link, his situation could be described as follows:

--in one case, the products of man's labor become alienated not only in the form of things but also in the form of ideas, theories, institutions and systems;

--in the second case, which is derivative in relation to objective alienation, man himself becomes alienated from society and other people.

Only after we have understood this duality can we attempt to use the above theory to analyze events in Poland. Here objective alienation plays the primary role. Society has lost control over its own products both in the economic and the sociopolitical sphere. Both economic goods and such institutions as the state, parties, etc., are products of man's activity. In the case of Poland, specific causes gave rise to a social mechanism whereby these products function independently and even against people's will, even threatening their existence. This is what occurs in all cases of classical objective alienation, and the Polish situation is a graphic example. One could show how this happened and what the causes were of our alienation. I published abroad two essays on this topic, entitled "The Polish Lesson." I think everyone could make such an analysis for his own benefit.

[Question] Perhaps everyone should do that.

[Answer] I agree, everyone should. But I must add that objective alienation gives rise to subjective psychological processes, a feeling of apartness toward what happens in society, toward other people and even toward one's own personality, which seems foreign. This is not a purely private, individual matter, since it affects the condition of others. Feelings of apartness, antipathy and frustration toward institutions, organizations, structures and government agencies also cause a reverse effect, which increases objective alienation. This may lead to a "death spiral."

[Question] My question also concerned the possibility of practical application of the theory.

[Answer] The theory of alienation makes it possible not only to diagnose but to treat the illness, since our society's situation exhibits the signs of a pathological, morbid state. Hence the medical language. Social therapy and prophylaxis always involve changing the function of the social mechanism in such a way as to eliminate the causes of both subjective and objective alienation that result from its malfunctioning. If we come to the conclusion, for example, that the cause of certain aspects of alienation lies in the overgrowth of the bureaucracy, we must eliminate the causes of this overgrowth. But--the question immediately arises--where do the causes of bureaucratic deformations lie? The theory of alienation also enables us to formulate proposals in the field of social engineering and to gain information on the mechanisms governing certain social processes. This is the theory's strength.

[Question] I must confess that I feel a little disappointed, perhaps because I expected you to give a concrete, clear and simple formula how to combat alienation, how to change this situation, which is generally not the most pleasant. As we know, the belief is spreading that marxism and the theories derived from it have lost their effectiveness. You recently published in the weekly magazine TU I TERAZ an essay titled "The Crisis of Marxism or Marxists." On the whole I agree with the arguments set forth there, but I think the processes of social alienation and frustration have gone further, and that decreasing confidence in marxist theory and ideology is extending as well to attitudes toward the system in which we live, attitudes toward socialism. Propaganda interprets the windings of our recent history as distortions of socialism, which do not at all lessen the value and superiority of this system. But it so happens that representatives of my generation, who were born after liberation [1945], remember almost nothing but these distortions, which are practically becoming a norm to us. This surely is also a sign of alienation--the objective form.

[Answer] I think you have hit on the crux of the matter. In my article "The Crisis of Marxism or Marxists," I stated that those who blame marxist theory for the present crisis are mistaken, because if one wants to prove that a theory is wrong, one must consider the question whether it was properly applied. But if this was not the case--as I established in my article--the blame lies not with the theory but with those who wrongly applied it. That does not alter the fact that if people are living in a reality with which they are discontented, even if they misinterpret their discontent, they experience frustration and feel aversion toward the existing form of socialism. Because this reality was built and is still being built (formally) under the banners of marxism-leninism, their dislike carries over to this theory. As a result, we are dealing with a crisis in the influence of the theory itself. In this sense we have both a crisis of marxists and a crisis of marxism, understood as a crisis in the social influence of marxist theory. This is a most significant social phenomenon, which does not invalidate the theory, but we must take it into account and eliminate the sources of alienation that cause it. Suitable propaganda of marxism has

an enormous role to play here, but it should not conceal the fact that the state of affairs is bad and that there has been a decline in the influence of the theory to which the architects of society refer.

[Question] The litmus test of this "recession" is the results of the parliamentary elections in many West European countries. What can we do so that the propaganda of marxism will win more support for the theory and not deepen the mood of discouragement?

[Answer] It is obvious that mere propaganda for the theory, even in the best form, will be of no use until we eliminate the objective causes of discontent. In the case of marxism, one must speak of a theory that is a social ideology and that has a limited connection with social practice. We should propagandize marxism without ceasing to emphasize the practical side of the matter, and thus eliminate the sources of various forms of alienation.

From what we have said, it is perfectly clear that marxism cannot be practiced as a "faith" in certain theses that exist apart from reality. Even if we did that as well as possible, the bad reality would effectively scotch any activities in this area. Incidentally, it is a problem to determine what forms are suitable for propagandizing marxism. In order to create an objective foundation for changing people's attitudes, we must change the mechanisms of the structure of the socialist system. Nor should we conceal the fact that propaganda, particularly official propaganda for marxist theory and ideology, is often not only ineffective but downright harmful to the cause. If by propaganda we mean only the repetition of old theses in the classics (courses), the cause is obviously lost. I do not mean that academic knowledge is unnecessary. Quite the contrary. One must master the rudiments of knowledge in this field in order to graduate to the "higher school of learning." But this "higher school of learning" is necessary, because, we should remember, many people believe that marxism is an ossified nineteenth-century theory that cannot provide effective help in action. We can counteract such disinformation only by practicing creative marxism, that is, by undertaking new tasks--new in relation to existing marxist theory --that are in keeping with the development of reality and science, and by showing how our system eliminates difficulties better than other systems do.

There is much evidence that marxist theory and practice are able to change reality effectively. One example of this is the theory of alienation we spoke about before. I might also mention the influence of the marxist theory of the individual, specifically the influence of philosophical anthropology on other disciplines. In Poland a lot is happening in this field, for example, in the school of marxist ethics conducted by Prof Marek Fritzhand or in the Lubelsk school where, under the direction of Prof Zdzislaw Cackowski, a large group of marxists is very effectively dealing with the problems of man and his world. One could cite the excellent studies on the philosophy of nature by Polish marxists, among whom Prof Augustynek, Amsterdamski, Krajewski and others have created a school that is attracting much interest abroad as well. It is clear, therefore, that the possibilities in this field are enormous-- I am referring here to my own discipline of philosophy--but my remark also pertains to economics, sociology and psychology, which likewise have splendid

representatives in Poland, marxists who could contribute greatly to our understanding of science and nature.

[Question] They could, but not much is heard about it.

[Answer] One condition must be met: these creative marxists must be given freedom of activity in their academic pursuits. Without freedom of discussion, without creativity unhampered by commands and prohibitions that solve scientific problems in advance, nothing will be achieved in these disciplines. This pertains not only to what these scholars do in their offices--in this regard there is more freedom in Poland than anywhere else--but also to publications. Without publication of views there is no scholarship and there are no practical results.

[Question] That is precisely the old postulate of socialism. Marx could not imagine socialism without freedom of the individual. The question can always be asked, however: freedom for whom, against whom, etc. For some time now, there has been worldwide discussion of the topic "Are the socialist countries socialist?" What is the most suitable criterion for determining whether a given country is socialist?

[Answer] The answer to this question may surprise the reader, but I would like to emphasize strongly (since the source of various misunderstandings is to be found here) that for Marx the criterion for determining whether a particular society is socialist or nonsocialist lies in the method of production as expressed by property relationships. The literature speaks of the sociopolitical formation. Now, there is no such concept in Marx; it appeared in our country as a result of misinterpretation of the marxist term "economic formation of society." We can speak of an economic formation according to the theses of historical materialism, which connects forms of social development with changes in the mode of production. The mode of production, as we know, consists of the means of production and the production relationships between people; the outward expression of these relationships is the prevailing law of ownership. In this area Marx distinguished eight economic formations of society. To summarize: when a society's production relationships have changed property relationships, when the private means of production have become social property, and when the class structure has also changed, this society must be regarded as socialist in terms of its economic formation. The reservations of those who believe that nationalization of the means of production is not equivalent to their collectivization are completely unfounded in light of marxism, because Marx and Engels say that nationalization of the means of production is necessary at a certain stage of their collectivization. In this sense there is no doubt that despite all the errors and distortions we can perceive in them, the existing societies of so-called real socialism are socialist. As we know, incidentally, marxism asserts that society consists of a base and a superstructure. The latter also includes the political superstructure, with the state as its principal element. Apart from desultory remarks on this subject, Marx never tackled the problem of the future make-up of this superstructure, since he understood perfectly that diverse superstructures could develop upon the economic base

of socialist society, depending on the history, culture, the current social and political conditions, the class struggle in the world and in these countries, etc. However, the future make-up of this superstructure is not unimportant, since any features in it that would eliminate democracy and freedom in the broad sense of the word would hinder the development of the base and thus become an obstacle to the development of socialist society.

[Question] Does freedom in the "broad sense of the word" apply to marxist views too? As we know, many outstanding people who were once closely connected with marxist ideas, theories and practice have undergone a very complicated evolution and changed their views, say, from extreme dogmatism to extreme liberalism, not to mention cases of total rejection of marxism.

[Answer] I tried to answer that question in my article in TU I TERAZ. But a few extra comments would not be out of place. Life changes, society, structures and science change, and people change too. Marxists who have formed their views and not altered them later in their lives are poor marxists, if indeed they are marxists at all. That would be an extreme case of dogmatism and sectarianism. A marxist also has the right, has the duty to develop himself, to increase his knowledge, but he likewise has the right to change his views, particularly if they are political views, which are a function not only of a given situation but of specific disciplines derived from the past. I have already said, and will repeat once more, that all the communists of my generation were stalinists, and if anyone says something different, he is either lying or deceiving himself. Only the trotskyites were not stalinists. All of us who were in the communist movement were connected not only with the person of Stalin (that would be least important) but with a certain system of views. The trouble is not that a person was a stalinist, but if he remains in the same positions to this day, or if he rushed to the opposite extreme out of frustration and suddenly forgets he was a communist, marxist, and adopts an anticomunist position. I believe that people of the "old school" who have been in the communist movement for decades do not have a moral right to reverse themselves today, all the more so because they never protested against the various negative aspects of the movement when they had a chance to do so. I want to emphasize--I do not deny the right to speak, to discuss, to defend views to all those who might have been even orthodox stalinists. People are not cows; they do not chew only old ideas, they have the right to new reflections and to new positions. But on one condition, if we are speaking of "old communists": that they will not become renegades, that they will not adopt anticomunist positions, but will seek only to mold the communist movement in a new, better way, as their conscience dictates. If they have lost even this conviction and this ability, they ought to be silent. That is the only honest and moral position.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

False Application of Marxism

Krakow ZDANIE in Polish No 4, 1983 [page numbers unavailable]

[Interview with Prof Adam Schaff conducted on 1 January 1983 by Wit Jaworski, Krzysztof W. Kasprzyk and Włodzimierz Rydzewski]

[Excerpts] ZDANIE: Has marxism come to a crisis?

Schaff: I think there are two interpretations of the crisis of marxism. According to the first, with which I disagree, marxism is responsible for mistakes committed in practice because they were committed on marxist grounds and in accordance with marxist theory. The point is, that these mistakes were committed under the label of marxism, which means that their perpetrators always referred to marxism, but this was only "liturgy" and not actual concordance with marxism.

I have adopted the following reasoning in my books: when we have a core composed of theoretical statements and a practice which either differs with these statements or contradicts them altogether, there are always two possibilities. Either the theory is false and the practice derives from it directly, or the application of this theory is incorrect and then the practice does not undermine the theory but only its application.

In the first half of the 19th century, the young Marx wrote very interesting things in his "German Ideology." In his first essay about Feuerbach, he wrote that certain basic conditions must be met in order to introduce socialism in a country. First of all, such a country must reach a high level of economic and industrial development so that the division of wealth can follow the revolution immediately. Second, the country must have a highly developed working class capable of operating a very complex machine. Third, the revolution, says Marx, must take place simultaneously in the most civilized (industrialized) countries. At this point, Marx made a very characteristic remark that should these conditions not be met, "die ganze alte Scheisse" [all the old sh-t] will recur in a new form.

ZDANIE: "German Ideology" appeared in 1846. Did this conception change afterward?

Schaff: Marx and Engels never refuted these assumptions which were later broadened by Gramsci's theory of social consensus. Gramsci developed this theory in prison and based it on a knowledge of the effects of the October Revolution. According to him, the socialist revolution needs social consensus, i.e., the support of the majority of society, in order to succeed. For this reason he attributed such great importance to the intelligentsia. Gramsci differs from the majority of other marxist theoreticians on this matter. He says the intelligentsia is a social stratum which can play an active role. Now, when we combine all these conditions (I mean those formulated by Marx and Gramsci), we realize that no socialist country was born in accordance with such a scenario.

ZDANIE: What consequences does this have for marxism?

Schaff: You have to realize there is a whole system of conditions which marxist theory considers indispensable for the socialist revolution to occur. Of course, this does not mean that no revolution at all can happen. When these conditions are not met, only a socialist revolution is impossible. The revolutionaries have a wide range of possibilities from which to choose. For instance, Lenin said "no" in 1905 to propounding the slogans of the socialist revolution in Russia at that time. This was a classic example of revolutionary wisdom.

It is not strange, in this context, that the failure to meet these conditions on the part of engineers of socialist revolutions which have taken place in the world so far had to lead to these revolutions' weaknesses and difficulties. It is not marxism, but behaviors incompatible with marxist instructions, which should be blamed. In fact, marxism is not undermined but verified by these negative facts.

ZDANIE: Let us repeat the initial question: Are we witnessing a crisis of marxism or not?

Schaff: We are witnessing a false application of marxism. This does not undermine marxist theory.

ZDANIE: You seem to share the opinion that the communist movement has "dried up" its own sources and history.

Schaff: I do not share this view. Italian communists have this conviction but I do not; I think it is incorrect.

ZDANIE: Perhaps it is true in the sense that nobody uses these sources any more?

Schaff: No, my opinion is different. I am convinced that the communist movement has not dried up its springs since it never drew from them properly. These springs are full, but access to them leads through a different channel, so to speak.

ZDANIE: How does this apply to Polish history? Were Polish communists aware of this in the mid-1940's?

Schaff: The Polish communists can adduce the authority of Alfred Lampe, one of the last leaders of the Polish Communist Party [KPP]. In 1943, Lampe wrote an essay which is known among experts as Alfred Lampe's political will (it was never published; the essay which was published was a deliberate forgery and you can write that I told you so), in which he said that the introduction of socialism is out of the question in Poland. The year was 1943 and Lampe wrote that a government of national unity, from which only fascists would be excepted, was the only government possible in Poland.

He wrote that nationalization was out of the question, that the point was to reconstruct the culture and the economy through national unity. I can tell you even more. This was not at all incompatible with what the Soviet leaders thought. At a meeting in 1944 with a delegation from the Polish Government in exile in London, Stalin made a very important remark. "It is easier to saddle a cow than to introduce socialism into Poland." he said. Nevertheless, this occurred some time later.

ZDANIE: How does the crisis of [marxist] doctrine affect the process of socialism?

Schaff: I told you there is no crisis of marxism in a popular or vulgar sense, because it is the practice which stumbles. The crisis manifests itself, however, in the fact that marxism has become less attractive for the masses because of all the false practices and deformations which took place in different countries. They made the intelligentsia reject marxist theory. In this sense we can talk about the crisis of [marxist] influence. Whether or not it is rooted in marxist theory is a different question. As a matter of fact there is one more side to this crisis. Because of false practice and the need to adjust theory to practice, marxism found itself in a situation where certain inconvenient principles were renounced and others were petrified. Its power of intellectual attraction eventually decreased, particularly among the intelligentsia in highly developed countries. The petrification of marxist theory has the strongest impact in the highly industrialized world because such things as the peculiar conviction about the inseparability of theory and practice (resulting from allegations of evil practical effects caused by theoretical differences in outlooks) put limitations on free confrontation of opinions, which is indispensable for the development of sciences.

ZDANIE: This is yet another aspect of the sin of stalinism.

Schaff: Yes, of the stalinist codification of marxism. Generally speaking, marxist theory was deformed (i.e., dogmatized). It is now essentially different from what marxism was supposed to be in the eyes of its authors, and is the biggest reason for the crisis of marxist influence.

It would be greatly desirable to illustrate marxist theory with positive practice, but this lies beyond the sphere of unrestricted activity.

ZDANIE: Let me quote a remark you made in 1957. "Once we use a stick against revisionism, we must not forget about using a stanchion (if nothing more) against all sorts of dogmatists and sectarians." It is your old argument that isolationism, dogmatism and sectarianism are much more dangerous for theory than revisionism.

Schaff: But what do you mean by revisionism?

ZDANIE: You should know this best, but I am quite aware this is not a precise category.

Schaff: The practice of the struggle of ideas always eliminates false opinions and theories. There is no authority, no matter how high in the party hierarchy, that can decide. They are people who do not always know the most on this subject. I admit there are certain spheres where such a risk cannot be taken because of an exceptionally strong class struggle. Yet there are large spheres which are by no means involved in this struggle, but which are considered to have been involved in it from the beginning. Class struggle can never justify the introduction of socialist or antisocialist categories to nonsemantic arts. This is nonsense. Whoever employs such an argument has very bad taste. This applies not only to the arts but also to science and ideological studies.

ZDANIE: Does loyalty to ideology bring a possibility of heresy as far as the requirements of party pragmatism and centralism are concerned?

Schaff: I tried to answer this question in a recent book about the crisis of the communist movement and to show the reasons for mistakes. I think I managed to point out all the major barriers. If marxism remains sealed off and is not made intellectually attractive, its influence on intellectuals will be impossible. This is the second deep sense of the crisis of marxism.

ZDANIE: I share your fears of dogmatism in this sense. During the heated early post-October [1956] period, Gomulka propounded an entirely different conviction. You certainly had a major influence on him at that time.

Why did he not want to change his famous sentence about the flu and tuberculosis [Gomulka once said that while dogmatism is like a flu for the party, revisionism is like tuberculosis]. This was disastrous for the movement.

Schaff: That is an entirely different problem involving Gomulka's nature. He was an old communist type, just like many Eurocommunists. When you talk to Carillo or Berlinguer you can see that, despite their negative attitude, they still cling to old stereotypes and expressions.

ZDANIE: But such an attitude is "infectious"; it influences the future. In Poland at least two generations have passed since.

Schaff: Yes, of course, it is characteristic of stereotypes that they stay alive.

ZDANIE: We have referred to the bugbear of stalinism. Can the unavoidability of stalinism, i.e., the priority of politics over the real state of social consciousness, solve the crisis? You wrote about this in one of your articles.

Schaff: Yes, in the first chapter of my latest book. But I said nothing about it being a solution to crises. I only insisted that, unfortunately, it is an unavoidable consequence. Socialism has been introduced to poorly-developed countries with poor chances of developing on the grounds of social consensus. Stalinism is not a matter of evil intentions and individual or group deformations; it is a historical necessity.

ZDANIE: You once said that "Revolutions exist for the people; the socialist revolution is not a goal in itself." What do you understand by happiness, to what extent are you a utopian?

Schaff: You keep changing the subject. Am I a utopian? No, I am not at all, because I have no general prescription for what happiness means. I can only give negative answers that it means the absence of certain bonds which, at a given period of time or in a given part of the world, are considered to be restrictions.

To be happy, man must also have a certain minimum level of material conditions. Of course what is only a minimum for some people, may happen to be the peak of prosperity for others. Man must also have a certain amount of personal freedom in the sense of social democracy, and the freedom to express his views and to travel, but these are also relative notions.

ZDANIE: You said that revolution took place where, for objective reasons, it should not have happened. Will you admit that countries of "real socialism" are really socialist countries?

Schaff: I recently wrote an article entitled "Are Socialist Countries Really Socialist?" I think that these countries manifested socialism as far as the economic formation is concerned. But Poland, for instance, has never built socialism in the sense of superstructure, i.e., the sociopolitical formation. This, in turn, hampers the base's development. You cannot say that this is not socialism. It is true that some left wingers who are dissatisfied with the practice feel relieved when they say that this is not socialism. Note, however, that the right wing has never denied that these are socialist countries. On the contrary, they say, "See what socialism is like."

ZDANIE: Let us discuss March 1968. What really happened then? Until now, it was impossible to gather all the facts. We suspect that a political game was taking place and, on the other hand, we believe there was something spontaneous in these events as well.

Schaff: The final showdown between the Natolin and Pulawy groups [two opposing groups in the PZPR] was an element of the March events. Their struggle started in 1956 and continued behind the scene all the time. March was a good opportunity to put an end to the Pulawy group.

Another element was connected with the fact that this group included many comrades of Jewish descent.

The third element of the March events was related to the group struggle against Gomulka. The game whose target was to oust him did not end in success in 1968 and it was repeated two years later. In the first issue of LITERATURE, Putrament wrote that the December 1970 events were provoked in order to get rid of Gomulka.

What about the other consequences of 1968? The year 1968 was a caesura. This started much earlier, of course, but that year marks the beginning of the period of the party's real weakening.

In 1976 I wrote a letter to Gierek in which I predicted his sad end. I analyzed the situation at that time and wrote to him what would happen if he did not make a turn. I never published this letter; I did not write it for others. Of course, it had its consequences. During the 25th anniversary of the Academy of Sciences, I was totally neglected although I was one of the Academy's founders and remained its presidium member. Others advised me to publish for other people to see, but I published nothing at that time.

ZDANIE: But you are publishing now.

Schaff: I changed my behavior only when I realized that what is now at stake is not a party compromise but Poland's existence. After Solidarity and 13 December, I reached the conclusion, of which I am still convinced, that the present government is the government of last resort for all of us. I therefore decided to put aside all resentments and personal objections and to report to work. For the first time in many years journals are printing my articles. This is not because they could not do this before (they could), but because I want to have them printed now. I think that even those who have many objections about this government should support its existence and activity.

ZDANIE: And what about that famous debate on Austrian television when General Jaruzelski's nomination as a candidate for a European peace prize was forwarded?

Schaff: Well, in Poland this matter became quite a sensation. The debate took place on a Sunday exactly one year after martial law was imposed on Poland, from 11 a.m. until noon, which is the time Austrians spend listening to political debates. It was a debate about Polish affairs between five competent people. I was the only Polish participant.

It is true that I suggested General Jaruzelski for a nonexistent European peace prize which I proposed to establish. I did so because I am convinced he saved Poland from a disaster and grave consequences. Perhaps some people do not like this, and I know there are some who do not, but I am deeply convinced that this is true.

ZDANIE: One more question connected with your declaration of support for the government of last resort, to use your wording. Can you tell us how you assess the situation after December 13, 1981?

Schaff: You see, I am not going to evaluate the government because it is not individuals who count. I said on Vienna television that, when forwarding General Jaruzelski's nomination as a candidate, I did not think about this man in particular but about social forces. When I talk about the government of last resort, I mean an alternative and I do not say that everything it does is correct. In fact I think that many things are incorrect, but it is not the point to evaluate. I am talking about the whole situation and its relation to alternative solutions. In Poland's case, any alternative will be worse politically.

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GENERAL HEALTH CARE ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Health Protection Discussed by Minister

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 23 Aug 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Leslaw Sajdak: "Health Protection--A Protected Area"]

[Text] At its recent session the Council of Ministers issued several basic decisions on matters of health protection. In his statement made to a PAP correspondent, Minister of Health and Social Welfare Tadeusz Szelachowski referred to some of the issues discussed at the official session.

The minister confirmed that as concerns the health situation of our country's population, which was discussed above all at that meeting, last year was characterized by a further rise in the coefficient of births, not recorded in 22 years, and also by a higher coefficient in the birth rate which is one of the highest in Europe. A similar development has been noted over the first 6 months of this year--namely, 366,379 children were born in Poland, which is more than 10,000 above the same period of 1982. That is a reason for rejoicing because it confirms the vitality of our nation and its biological strength, but on the other hand it calls for more efforts on the part of our health services which do not have, for example, an adequate number of beds available in maternity hospitals. It is imperative to be prepared for higher expenditures, and each one of us who are engaged in health services must work more efficiently. We further register a slight decline in the coefficient of infant mortality (this concerns also the first 6 months of the current year during which it dropped 1.1 per thousand). In absolute numbers it means that 700 children were saved. Here we must underscore that the issue of lower infant mortality is directly connected with the question--criticized by some people--of maternity leaves for mothers who take better care of their children than the best day-care centers and kindergartens.

Last year the rate of tuberculosis and venereal diseases dropped, and traffic accidents also declined. This issue continues to cause serious problems because despite an improvement in the past year, 5,500 persons died and 45,000 were injured in traffic accidents. Unfortunately, the statistics of such incidents have further deteriorated in the current year. We continue to observe a decline in sick leaves. In the first 6 months of this year there were 6.5

percent fewer L-4 leaves than in the same period of 1982. This means that sick leaves declined 64 days per 1,000 employees. At the same time it was noted last year that the numbers of mentally disturbed persons increased, mainly due to abuse of alcohol. Circulatory, cardiac and vascular diseases and malignancies continue to pose serious problems. Among major threats were alcoholism, drug addiction, and excessive smoking of tobacco.

The generally favorable indicators must be attributed to the fact that our health services were a protected area during the crisis; an example will suffice: occasionally we have been reminded that the increase of 5,500 hospital beds, not acknowledged last year, was due primarily to the "slippage" in construction over past years. We should have the same "slippages" in the future! We could not wish anything better. Furthermore, considerably more units in social institutions, new clinics and health centers have been added than in past years.

As for improving basic care--apart from the ongoing construction of a base for such medical services, new clinics and health centers, the introduced organizational changes are of major importance. The regulations pertaining to the organization of institutions of health services have been changed and adapted to local conditions and needs. After all, medical bases do not have to be organized everywhere around medical complexes--in some instances some other form of organization will be sufficient; its adoption depends on local authorities. Another serious issue is to limit the necessary number of additional tests for patients.

Only a physician--and not, for instance, formal considerations--may decide whether tests, and what kind of tests, should be made. Furthermore, such tests may be used repeatedly: thus, there is no need to repeat them, for example, if there is a change of physicians. Moreover, we are considering health cards for adults, in which data on current health condition, therapy, etc., will be entered. Here we are thinking about using for that purpose the insurance cards held by every employee. This is also supported by the fact that it would require a great deal of paper to print special documents.

The Council of Ministers decided to assign for the current year additional 4,000 employees to health services because for some time the staffs of employees in health service centers had been declining, which caused certain difficulties in maintaining continuous operations--and after all, the patients themselves are affected by that. The shortage of personnel is evident mainly among nurses and nurse's aides. More advantageous wage regulations have been stipulated for that category of workers, particularly for persons working on three-shift schedule. In the nearest future we plan to introduce changes of the wage system in health services aimed at curbing the unfortunate tendency of "levelling" the amount of rewards for workers in that branch. At the same time the minister of health and social welfare is making certain corrections concerning work training.

One of the greatest threats to health is smoking of tobacco. It is estimated that 12 million persons in our country smoke, 4 million of them women. A disturbing phenomenon is also the fact that our youngsters are beginning to

smoke at a lower age and that pregnant women who smoke give birth to weaker children with lower birth weight. According to an estimate, it takes 10 years for such children to make up the the delay in their physical and mental development. Other medical data about smoking: 37 percent of malignant tumors in men and 12 percent in women, and three times higher risk of myocardial infarction. It is estimated that losses caused by smoking exceed five-fold the profits from sales of cigarettes.

The previous experience gained over about 10 years in the implementation of the order issued by the minister of health and social welfare and by directors of other departments concerning restrictions on smoking indicates that the fight against nicotine addiction cannot be based on recommendations. In that respect greater hopes are placed--T. Szelachowski continued--in a normative act by a higher echelon, such as a resolution by the Council of Ministers, which will categorically regulate--on the basis of experience from the Scandinavian countries, the USSR and Bulgaria--issues related to smoking of tobacco in public places and, for example, prohibit the sale of tobacco to persons under 16 years of age, guarantee nonsmokers the right to live in a smoke-free atmosphere, prohibit smoking in conference and lecture halls, at meetings, on the premises of schools and educational or cultural institutions, health centers, cinemas, theaters, museums, means of communication--with the exception of specially designated sections. I proposed that the minister of health and social welfare appoint a special interdepartmental task force whose purpose will be to coordinate all issues related to the war against nicotine addiction and to submit proposals concerning that particular problem.

Preferences for Industrial Health Services

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 26-27-28 Aug 83 pp 1,2

[Article by "mich": "Priority to Industrial Health Services--When Will the Problems for Power Engineers in Skawina End?"]

[Text] (Our own information)-Yesterday the deputy minister of health and social welfare, Ryszard Brzozowski, was in HiL [Lenin Steelworks] on a working visit in order to learn about the conditions of the work of the Industrial Health Care Team in the HiL. The deputy minister, accompanied by Wladyslaw Kaczmarek, secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, visited the Central Clinic of the HiL and then, in succession, the clinics in the department of coke chemistry and blast furnaces.

Here, in the heart of the steelworks, the statistical data confirming the continually rising rate of morbidity and occupational diseases became even more convincing. The workers of the HiL suffer most frequently from the diseases of the motor system, ulcers, hypertension; heart attacks occur here at a greater rate than ever before. In this context the demands on health services, particularly preventive equipment, are increasing. Favorable expert opinion confirms that the Industrial Health Care Team in Nowa Huta is trying to meet expectations. The structural design in itself (the central institute coordinates the operation of 12 other clinics located in individual

sectors; in the center is a clinic for occupational diseases, a surgical department, the offices of physician-specialists and efficient emergency clinics) guarantees prompt and expert aid to all those who need it. It should be mentioned that next to the employees of the steelworks, about 40,000 employees of the industries in the vicinity of the steelworks enjoy the benefit of industrial care of the labor union local in the HIL.

The guest was acquainted with controversial issues that often affect negatively the work of industrial health services. The medical personnel is demanding equality of salaries with the income earned by their colleagues in public health services. When considering the financial aspect, one must realize that the physicians in the "industry" must work under specific, difficult conditions. Zdzislaw Wojcik, provincial physician, demanded, among other things, more independence for the workplaces in terms of financing their clinics and providing for their needs.

During the meeting of the deputy minister with the management of the HIL steelworks considerable attention was focused on the program for improving health conditions. Although the director in chief, Eugeniusz Pustowka, reaffirmed that it is a long-range, expensive program, nevertheless, he shared the assorted optimistic information: if one can trust the data, the emission of gases has been successfully reduced.

Deputy Minister Brzozowski, on the other hand, confirmed during the discussion that government officials were acquainted with the evaluation of environmental dangers in Krakow and therefore solutions and decisions which would give priority to medical services in that city should be expected.

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The electric power plant in Skawina was designed to serve, after its reconstruction, as an important thermal source. When the plans for its modernization were drafted 10 years ago, it was assumed that the capacity of the thermal power plant which was to be established there would amount to 1,400 Gcal. Those objectives were tested by experience--that was the opinion expressed by Ireneusz Lapinski, the chief manager of the power plant, during a visit of Deputy Minister Jerzy Wojcicki, chief of the Main Inspectorate for Power Management in Skawina.

At present that enterprise is able to generate 500 MW of electric power and 110 Gcal heat. The first stage of its reconstruction is under way, which means that the power turbines are being converted to heat-generating turbines. This will permit to increase the capacity of the thermal power plant by additional 185 Gcal. Unfortunately, the remaining two stages, i.e., installation of four water boilers and thermal units, cannot be undertaken at present because there is no water in Skawina. The plans did not foresee that the Vistula River could not be the source of water because it had become a big sewer. The water of the Vistula contains 1,000 mg salt in 1 liter and that amount will double in all probability in the near future. The water in the thermal cycle is already now in short supply. The only solution is--probably--the construction of pipelines from the Dunajec River, although that would be an extremely expensive proposition.

The aging machinery delivered to the power station 26 years ago poses special problems. Turbines which should operate 100,000 hours have run already almost 200,000 hours. Their bodies and valves are gradually beginning to crack and rotors must be replaced. Acquisition of new frames is imperative. The obsolete turbines and collectors are still in operation only because of the crews who have been patching up the holes for years and keeping the equipment in working condition.

The management of the Skawina Power Station is pressing most urgently for environmental protection. For that reason one of its most relevant tasks is to replace the electric filters which were installed in 1959-1962 and which are now ineffective. This matter has been dragging on for the past 10 years--since the beginning of the discussions about environmental pollution--but thus far only one filter was installed. In all fairness, another one is already on the premises of the power station; however, the principal contractor of that investment, Energoprzem, is having problems with its subcontractors. Funds are lacking. The cost of electric filters is not negligible--2 million zlotys.

Deputy Minister Jerzy Wojcicki confirmed that in fact, all the plans made years ago could not be completed, but the management of the Skawina Power Station must make every effort to reach the capacity of the thermal power station in the order of 650-770 Gcal. That is the requirement of the program for the development of housing construction. The guest acquainted himself with issues disturbing the crew. They were introduced by Ryszard Panek, the chairman of the NSZZ [Trade Union] of the Employees of the Skawina Power Station.

In the morning Deputy Minister Jerzy Wojcicki conferred with the first secretary of the Polish United Worker Party's Central Committee, Jozef Gajewicz.

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REASONS WHY YOUTHS ARE ATTRACTED TO RELIGION EXAMINED

Bucharest REVISTA DE PEDAGOGIE in Romanian May 83 pp 18-21

[Article by De Leon Buburuzan of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy]

[Text] Proceeding from the particularly important role and place held by the youth in our society, the importance of their scientific, atheist education takes on new dimensions and significance, resulting in the concern which the RCP shows for this area of activity. In his speech at the recent youth forum, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the party's secretary general, pointed out: "There are many things to remove from the people's consciousness and we must struggle steadfastly against mysticism and the old customs left by the bourgeois-landowner society."*

The problem is all the more acute since religiosity remains current phenomenon, whose intensity--although clearly diminishing under conditions of the modern innovative changes--still is recording high levels, thus affecting a number of psycho-formative processes of the young generation.

In order to save those young personalities who still are falling under the influence of "religious opium," as with any type of spiritual alienation, an investigation into the causes and conditions for causing and maintaining it plays an important role. In this case, what becomes axiomatic and generally methodological is the thesis on studying the knowledge of the causality which is at the basis of the phenomenon upon which action must be taken. In this regard, Lenin drew attention to the fact that "we must know how to conduct the struggle against religion and for this we must explain in a materialist way what the roots of faith and religion among the masses are."**

*At the basis of this article is psychosociological research done at the national level on a sampling of 1,600 subjects, of whom 34 percent were from secondary schools and vocational schools and 21 percent were from the university.

**V. I. Lenin, "Works," Volume 15, Bucharest, ESPLA, 1957, p 395.

So the problem of investigating the determining factors of the mystical-religious phenomenon as well as the ways in which they are demonstrated among school youth must be the departure point in atheistic action, one which is capable of insuring superior results. This involves our analyzing the dimensions, structure, nature and evolution of the mystical-religious phenomenon among various categories of pupils thoroughly and responsibly, not only as simple existing situations but also as effects produced by certain causes and conditions, not as accidental phenomena but rather as effects which are nothing more than the result of one cause or another, of a certain series of causes which act under certain conditions of age, environment, sex and so forth. Because we know that it is much easier and more effective to combat a phenomenon when you know the causes, and it is more indicated to take action to eliminate the causes than to combat the effects, particularly when they already have been established, crystallized in beliefs, in customs and convictions, in mentalities and feelings. Studying and establishing the causes as precisely as possible are great gains both for theory and for social practice, for scientific-materialist education and for raising the degree of its effectiveness. Current field investigations show us that religious or superstitious practices, beliefs and feelings are not just the result of reminiscences of the past, as, unfortunately, some authors still assert, or of a monetary cause or another, but they are the consequence of a series of casual and conditional factors which lead to various situations and degrees of religiosity. Within this multitude of factors, those of an objective nature meet with those of a subjective nature and are conditions of one another and, within them, are social, natural, psychological, actional causes or those which are derived from the very nature and morphology of the mystical-religious phenomenon. We shall dwell only on several aspects in this article, in particular on the measures which must be taken in the school groups to combat the religious phenomenon and to give the pupils a scientific atheist education.

Social Factors

Among the causal factors influencing the youth's state of religiosity, the social ones prove to be the most intense. The religious influence on the infant and juvenile personality through the social environment is very complex and, at the same time, different from one stage of the subject's development to another. This should lead to finding certain specific methods of activity of an atheist nature, depending on these situations. They may take place at the macro- or microgroup level, through interpersonal relationships or through all these together, as occurs most frequently. Within these environments, religiosity may be carried out regularly or spontaneously through special actions of indoctrination or through the environment by simple actions or complex activities which combine rational means with emotional, voluntary forms with coercive (the case of the family or the religious organization).

a) At the macrogroup level: Although social factors at the macrogroup level have a weaker religious influence, a knowledge of them is recommended for all educational factors. Entering into this category are the internal and external, current and residual social contradictions. Among these, an important role is played by investigating the forms in which the struggle is carried out between old and new in the current process of building our society and the problems of social awareness in this struggle. As the documents of the national party conference of December 1982 point out, an investigation of these contradictions, alongside the epistemological interest, offers practical conditions for solving them in an atheist fashion, facilitating the activity to abolish religiosity and to spiritually emancipate the youth not only at the macro level but also at the microgroup level, including at the level of the school and pupil group.

b) At the microgroup level: By making a thorough investigation of microgroup relations like those of the family, neighborhood, school, interest groups, in which the young person directly carries out his life and activity, it has been proven that these represent a greater power of religious influence than the macrosocial environment, for which reason we recognize the attention which must be given to these environments by educational factors. The relatively closed nature of the microgroup gives it greater power to preserve certain specific values, at the same time hindering lay, atheist influences from outside, from the macrogroup.

Having the members of the microcollective know each other closely increases the atmosphere of intimacy, of emotions and, thus, increases the characteristic of preserving mystical-religious components. In this case, a correspondence appears between the emotional nature exercised by religious psychology and the emotional nature exercised by the microgroup influences and, so, an additional opportunity to preserve and transmit religious values through the microgroup. The problem takes on more clear dimensions when we relate this to the young generation, which is more predisposed to emotional-affective influences.

Within the microgroup the family has a great power of religious influence--of course we are referring to the religious family. This influence derives from ties of intimacy, emotional attachment, cult practices and customs as well as from the great endurance of the family exercised in ontogenesis, from which the young person tears himself away with quite a lot of difficulty. The results of field investigation record considerable differences between the young from nonreligious families or those which are not very religious. For example, the subjects with a higher degree of religiosity have double the number of both parents being religious,* compared with the group of less religious or nonreligious subjects, whose parents are affected by religion to a lesser degree. Of all the age periods, the childhood period is the one most powerfully influenced by the family; as the child matures, the

*Here are statements by subjects in the investigation who came from believer rural families and were in secondary schools in the city, far from home:
"My parents continually tried to convince me that God exists, but my professors, the school and other factors made me understand that He does not exist."
"If I had continued to stay home and had not come to school, in the world, I think I would have remained that same believer."

family's influence gradually diminishes. Also it has been found that the mother in the family exercises greater religious influence on the children than the father and the grandmother more than the grandfather and the aunts more than the uncles.

The problem of the scientific materialist education of the pupils in these situations is complicated and even becomes difficult when the influencing factor is mainly the family and particularly the powerfully religious one. Difficulty should not be identified with impossibility.

The solutions most recommended in these situations would be not so much those which lead to explaining to and deconverting the family (a much more complex process) but rather those which integrate the child-pupil into as many atheist or secular activities as possible in order to distract him from the religious practices imposed by the family as well as to form and develop new pursuits, passions and convictions for him, which would diverge from those of a mystical-religious nature. Here the teaching cadres and teachers must cooperate closely with the Pioneer and UTC organization so that the pupil from the religious family or environment can find much more interesting, useful and attractive things in the activities organized by the political-education factors at the same time doubled by the warmth and affection necessary for this age.

Differentiating the work of scientific atheist education must be done depending on the degree of religiosity of the microgroup or family and pupil comes from, on his material and cultural possibilities, on the nature of the religion he is cultivating as well as on the methods utilized in the religious influencing of school pupils.

c) The religious organization is another social causal factor of which we have been informed (a fact which sometimes makes us ignore the role of the others) and the only one specialized in regularly attracting and indoctrinating the youth. Appealing to a broad range of psychopedagogical resources, the religious organization completes, amplifies and systematizes knowledge and militates for forming and crystallizing religious feelings and convictions. Except for the noeprotestant cults, all the cults in Romania practice baptism of the baby, linking him with the church even at a very early age.

Proceeding from the discovery of the existence of important differences in the youths' degree of religiosity, depending on what cult they belong to, one may establish three categories of organizations: the Orthodox organization, which exercises a lower influence; the Catholic and Protestant organization, which have a greater influence; and the sect organizations, with the most powerful force of attraction and religious contamination. Differentiating the power of influence of the three categories of organizations derives from the militantism of the cult activity, the pomp and attraction of the divine ceremony (its emotional-aesthetic aspect), the means for attracting believers and the nature of the instructional process with a view to the religious initiation of children and young people.

The great power of proliferation of the sects, particularly for attracting certain young people to religious life (for whom bitter disputes are carried out between various sects and between cults and sects), is explained by the fact that they mainly appeal to systematic indoctrination, for this purpose using varied and personally specialized forms; cultivation of relations among young people only on the basis of their belonging to the religious organization; concern with administering the children's and young people's free time, in this way competing with the activity of the school, the youth organizations, the cultural institutions; the use of artistic resources (bands, orchestras, choirs, recitations, religious sketches and so forth); exploitation of momentary social-economic and mental circumstances; organizing missionary activities in the marginal social environments or for culturally or mentally-physically handicapped people.

Bearing in mind the influencing capacity and specialized nature of such a mystical-religious causal factor among children and young people, such as the religious organization (the church), a corresponding atheist resistance must be opposed to it. Certain specific methods will be resorted to in the strategy of combatting the poisonous influences exercised by the church, along with the general scientific materialist educational activities as well as those referring to the family's influences (since most times the religious organization acts on the children in a mediated way, through the family).

So first we must identify the actions which aim at combatting the mystical-religious concepts of the pupils involved. Along with other scientific arguments which are to be counterposed to the various dogma and precepts they have learned, we must insist on the false, unnatural nature of the doctrines and dogmas propagated by religion in general and by the religious organizations to which these pupils belong and on the nature and evolution (history) of the particular cults and sects, for this purpose using the entire range of methods and forms offered us by subjects in school and extracurricular activities.

A second group of activities should be connected with the time factor. That is, the organization of extracurricular demonstrations with powerful educational value, activities that are highly attractive, parallel preferably with religious activities (the church service, meetings, catechism courses and so forth). In these demonstrations we should find those which are emotionally-aesthetically charged (musical activities, dramatic, dance activities, films), those arousing curiosity, interest and passions, such as competitive sports (particularly for boys), vocational, scientific, cultural-artistic contests like "The One Who Knows, Wins," "The One Who Knows, Answers," "Happy Travellers," and so forth, as well as activities for amusement (excursions, travels, celebrations, dance nights) which are intended to knit lasting interpersonal or microgroup relationships based on interests, passions and sympathies and capable of competing with the relationships cultivated by the religious organizations which are based exclusively on belonging to a denomination.

Another specific note which should be covered by the scientific materialist education carried out by the school, UTC organizations and Pioneer organizations among the pupils influenced by the religious organization, is an approach dependent on their nature and character. Scientific atheist concerns must increase for the pupils belonging to the faiths, with preferable concern for attracting and indoctrinating the children and young people, for this purpose using the most resourceful methods as is the case of the religious sects, but not only theirs. One should not ignore either the mystical-religious concerns for the young generation carried out by various other cults, including the Orthodox, just as that same firm and in no way conciliatory position should be adopted toward the broad range of faiths and superstitious practices (more frequently on the faithful of the Orthodox cult), even if at first sight they seem to be less offensive.

For this purpose the school education agents must closely follow these pupils, particularly their pursuits on Sunday and Saturday (for the Adventists) as well as their environments.

The results from our investigations show that the differences in religiosity between rural and urban environments are seen not only in the degree of intensity but also in the structure of the religious phenomenon. The villagers' practices and beliefs take on a much more intense coloring, marked by superstitious-mystical nuances in which the emotional-affective aspect is more pronounced. Thus we note certain inclinations toward magical superstition (belief in the soul of the dead, in witches and spells), toward forewarning and belief in demons (belief in demons, in fate, in ghosts) and toward forboding signs and dreams.

In this regard the teaching cadres and the UTC and Pioneer organizations, mainly those in the rural areas, must prevent and systematically combat those religious and superstitious beliefs whose main cause are nature and backward social mentalities and this would be both through educational subjects (physics, chemistry, geography, biology, social sciences, which can explain scientifically the natural and social phenomena analyzed above) as well as through special actions of scientific materialist education. Primarily we are referring to those cultural and scientific demonstrations such as "The Scientific Almanac," "Miracles in the Test Tube," "Scientific Brigade," "The Scientific-Technical Matinee," which can be accompanied by scientific experiments (reproducing lightning with resources from the laboratory, the solar spectrum, light diffraction, eclipses and so forth), seeing documentary films or radio-TV broadcasts, visits to the natural science museums, documentary trips in nature. Along with these demonstrations, one can also explain certain events or natural or social phenomena lived through or seen within the activity of the scientific-technical circles or natural sciences as well as activities in the circles for scientific materialist education or in political-ideological education.

At the base of all the activity of the pupils' scientific materialist education must be a thorough knowledge of reality with which the group of pupils and each one separately is confronted, while the main indicator

must be the degree of religiosity (intensity and frequency of faith and mystical-religious practices) and the nature of religiosity. Differentiation of scientific atheist work must be done primarily according to these particular features and then the factors causing them.

Finally one also may find in the analysis of mystical-religious causes and demonstrations several broad directions of action which must be brought to the attention of the school, the UTC and Pioneer organs and organizations as well as other educational factors involved in the activity of the pupils' scientific materialist education.

Continuation at the local level of the study of overall and specific causes for various mystical-religious trends or manifestations in order to be able to intervene in preventing and combatting them in time;

Timely combatting of the pessimistic psychoses and local rumors connected with certain phenomena (earthquakes, floods, eclipses, foreign social disturbances) interpreted as signs of the end of the world or as manifestations of the divine wrath on an unbelieving mankind;

Treating scientific materialist propaganda as a complex process (not as a campaign action), a vital one, which possesses a vast arsenal of forms and methods with great educational value related to reality, to conditions for learning and living, to particular features of age, sex, cultural level. For this purpose we feel it would be very effective to organize compact cycles of action which would use cadres with a lot of experience and pedagogical tact in this area.

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